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**A Study of Factors Contributing to Achieving and
Sustaining School Effectiveness in Elementary Schools**

by

Janet A. Hageman Chrispeels

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Education

University of San Diego

1990

Dissertation Committee

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Abstract

A Study of Factors Contributing to Achieving and Sustaining Effectiveness in Elementary Schools

An effective school is one in which there are overall high levels of achievement sustained over time and in which students from the lower socioeconomic (SES) subgroups are performing at levels comparable to higher SES groups. Through a case study methodology, the author analyzed the degree of effectiveness in eight elementary schools and factors that contributed to attaining this level of effectiveness.

Over a five year period, data were collected at each school through interviews, effective schools surveys, CAP test results, and other school records. The effectiveness of each school was determined by applying three criteria that evaluated the overall level of achievement as well as gains for the lowest SES group. The qualitative data were analyzed using an interactive model of school improvement that encompassed four essential components: (a) school culture and climate, (b) curriculum and instructional practices, (c) organizational structures and procedures, (d) leadership by district, principal, and staff.

From the cross case analyses as well as four in depth case studies the following conclusions were drawn. First, the schools that achieved the highest degree of effectiveness implemented changes in all components; no single element accounted for high levels of achievement. Second, schools that continued to improve had early gains, which raised staff expectations for students success and served to encourage the staff to engage in further

improvement efforts. The staff in the schools that made no gains in the five year period tended to blame parents for the lack of achievement gains. Third, organizational structures such as grade level teams, curriculum committees and ad hoc task forces that enabled the staff to work together were essential to increased achievement. Fourth, in the more effective schools the organizational structures provided more opportunities for shared leadership and resulted in a clearer articulation of a shared mission by staff members. Fifth, the schools that achieved increased effectiveness did so within existing budgets. Sixth, external events such as growth in student population, changing demographics, or changes of principal slowed improvement efforts. Seventh, district leadership in terms of goal focus, curriculum alignment, well-planned staff development, and test data analysis and achievement targets helped to support site-based efforts.

To my parents,
Who gave me the joy of learning;
To my husband,
Who encouraged and supported my learning;
To my children,
Who inspired me to continue learning.

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CHAPTER ONE

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO ACHIEVING AND SUSTAINING SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

The Issue

Nineteen hundred and ninety marks the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Coleman Report (1966) which concluded that the primary determinant of student achievement is not the school, but the socioeconomic status and home background of the student. Jencks and his colleagues (1972) echoed Coleman when they stated that, "everything else—the school budget, its policies, the characteristics of teachers—is either secondary or completely irrelevant" (p. 256). Since 1966 the debate in the educational community has centered around the issue of can and do schools make a difference in student achievement.

Some educational researchers in the 1970s who were unwilling to accept Coleman's conclusion, devoted their attention to identifying and studying schools serving low-income students that had achievement levels equal to middle class schools. Weber's (1971) study of four inner city elementary schools with exemplary reading programs (i.e., third grade reading scores were above national norms) is considered by many to be the beginning of the effective schools movement. Other studies followed (Austin, 1978; Brookover, and Lezotte, 1979; California State Department of Education, 1980; Edmonds, 1979; Klitgaard and Hall, 1974; Lezotte,

Edmonds and Ratner, 1974; New York State Department of Education, 1974a, 1974b, 1976; Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Ouston, and Smith, 1979; Spartz, Valdes, McCormick, Meyers, and Geppert, 1977). While there have been methodological criticisms of these studies (Cuban, 1983; Purkey and Smith, 1982), the overall conclusion is that schools can do much to overcome family background variables and that certain organizational, leadership, instructional and climate factors help to explain why some schools are successful and others are not.

In the past ten years, effective schools research has served as the basis for developing school improvement programs. Educational agencies at all levels—state departments of education (e. g., Connecticut, South Carolina, New York), intermediate units (e.g., San Diego, Orange, Los Angeles, Riverside, and Sacramento County Offices of Education in California) and hundreds of local school districts (e.g., Glendale, Arizona; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Pontiac, Michigan; Seattle, Washington; Montgomery County, Maryland)—have launched school effectiveness programs. The programs are designed to help schools develop an improvement plan that will increase both overall student achievement and equitable achievement of each student subgroup within the school population.

The hallmark of school effectiveness programs is the disaggregation of achievement data that enable the school staff to examine how the school's instructional program meets the needs of each student subgroup. In addition, many programs collect assessment data on the correlates identified in the effective schools research. These correlates usually encompass the following factors: instructional leadership, clear school mission, opportunity to learn and time-on-task, frequent monitoring, safe and orderly environment, high expectations, and home-school relations. Based on an

analysis of test data and effective schools surveys, schools then develop an improvement plan. Subsequent student outcome data serve as the basis for evaluating the effectiveness of the improvement plan.

In spite of considerable efforts on the part of schools and school districts to undertake school effectiveness programs, not all have achieved the desired goal. For example, in San Diego, in a study of ten elementary schools that had undertaken school effectiveness efforts, four of the schools achieved equity (i.e., the lowest income subgroups within the schools were achieving beyond expectations), three made some gains and were called improving schools, but three showed little improvement in terms of student outcomes and remained ineffective (Pollack, Chrispeels, and Watson, 1987). Only one-half of the schools participating in Milwaukee's Project RISE schools showed achievement increases (Purkey and Smith, 1983). While some schools have achieved effectiveness and greater equity for all students, the goal has remained elusive for others in spite of their best efforts. School improvement has proved to be a complex and challenging process.

Purpose of Study

The primary purpose of this study was to analyze factors that contributed to achieving and sustaining school effectiveness in elementary schools for a minimum of three years and to gain a better understanding of the organizational change required to achieve and sustain effectiveness. From this overall purpose, the following four complementary purposes emerge:

1. Examine the longitudinal impact of a school improvement process on student outcomes in eight elementary schools;

2. Identify factors and variables that are associated with school change and improvement for a period of three or more years;
3. Propose a model of how the school effectiveness variables interact in the school context to produce higher student achievement;
4. Explore the relationship between the school site administrator and the district administration during the improvement process.

To address the purposes of the study, the following research questions were answered.

1. How has the school improvement process differed in schools that met the effectiveness criteria (based on results from the California Assessment Program) compared to those that did not?
2. Have the perceptions of the school staff within each school, as assessed by the San Diego County School Effectiveness Survey, changed over time?
3. Are there differences in perceptions among staff members as revealed in the survey results in the more effective compared to the less effective schools?
4. Do teachers and principals in more effective compared to less effective schools give similar or different explanations regarding how the school has change and sustained school effectiveness?
5. Based on principal and teacher perceptions, how do district administrative activities and functions interface with school level improvement strategies to support or inhibit change and school effectiveness?

Rationale and Theoretical Framework

While there are critics of the effective schools research, especially on methodological grounds (Cuban, 1983; LeMahieu, 1985; Purkey and Smith,

1983; Ralph and Fennessey, 1983; Rowan, Bossert, and Dwyer, 1983), the essence of the findings from this body of research cannot be disregarded. Rosenholtz (1985) advanced three reasons why the effective schools research should be considered seriously. "First, researchers have described 'turnaround' schools that, because of changes in organizational conditions, became more successful" (p. 353). Second, when other factors were controlled, organizational variables account for a third of the variance in student achievement between schools (Rowan et al., 1983). Third, school effectiveness studies have been conducted in many locales in a relatively short period of time. These studies have consistently identified similar factors that help to explain the differential in school effects on student achievement. These concurrent and significantly similar findings give credence to the research.

In spite of all that has been learned in the last ten years, there are still important gaps in the knowledge base regarding effective schools. First, most of the studies of effective schools have been cross-sectional rather than longitudinal. As Rowan (1983) has pointed out, some schools proved to be effective one year based on standardized test results, but failed to meet the effectiveness criteria the next year. Little attention has been paid to factors that might account for the fluctuations in results or to the conditions that contribute to continued effectiveness over time.

A second research weakness is uncertainty in how schools become effective. Researchers have identified lists of characteristics that distinguish effective from ineffective schools. However, there is much less understanding of how to transplant or replicate the characteristics in schools that are currently not effective, although this is the goal of many state, regional, district, and school-based effectiveness programs. Much of the

literature on planned educational change has focused on the implementation of innovations of a programmatic nature in the curriculum or instructional practices of the classroom (Berman and McLaughlin, 1977; Fullan, 1982; Hall and Hord, 1987; Hall and Loucks, 1977; Huberman and Miles, 1983, 1984;). These studies have contributed significantly to understanding how innovations get successfully implemented and institutionalized. As Hall and Hord (1987) have pointed out, even implementing a programmatic change can be difficult with mixed results. Becoming an effective school involves changes that encompasses even more complex processes than implementing a specific innovation. The process frequently requires a change in deep seated assumptions and ingrained patterns of behavior. Bringing a whole school to effectiveness is far more complex and requires more understanding of the nature of institutional development.

This study examined four major components that impact change in schools: school climate and culture, curriculum and instructional practices, organizational structures and procedures, and school leadership. Because schools do not operate in isolation, but also exist within a district and state context, the study also took into account the the relationship of district policies, procedures and directives on individual school effectiveness and change efforts.

The early effective schools research focused on identifying lists of factors that distinguished effective from ineffective schools. The second phase of school effectiveness research has attempted to cluster the factors or correlates into logical groupings or patterns for program development (Murphy, Hallinger, and Mesa, 1985). In addition, teacher effectiveness research findings and the organizational change literature have been integrated with the school effectiveness factors. Purkey and Smith (1983)

grouped the correlates into two major categories: structure which includes the following factors—school site management, leadership, staff stability, curriculum, articulation and organization, staff development, parental involvement and support, schoolwide recognition and academic success, maximized learning time and district support, and process which includes collaborative planning and collegial relationships, sense of community, clear goals and high expectations commonly shared, and order and discipline.

Murphy et al. (1985) refined this model by organizing the fourteen factors they identified into two major categories: school technology and school environment. Encompassed within school technology are the headings: organizing for curriculum and instruction which includes tightly coupled curriculum, opportunity learn and direct instruction; and supporting curriculum and instruction which includes clear academic mission, instructional leadership, frequent monitoring and structured staff development. School environment includes three components: norms, including expectations; organizational processes, which includes collaborative processes, cohesion and support; and structures which includes opportunity for involvement, rewards and recognition, safe and orderly environment, and home-school support. (p. 620).

Based on their study of ten effective, improving, and ineffective schools, Pollack et al. (1987) built on Murphy's model by grouping their findings into three major components: school climate and culture, curriculum and instructional practices, and organizational structures and procedures. This study has attempted to elaborate on the nature and interrelationship of the three components and to explore the role of leadership in relation to the components and their variables.

An interactive model of school effectiveness components. Figure 1.1 depicts a hypothesized relationship among the three components, school leadership, and student outcomes and lists the variables that have been grouped under each component. Scheerens and Creemers (1990) have argued that many of the effective school characteristics are really aspects of leadership. "We might wonder whether 'frequent evaluation' and 'orderly climate' could not better be seen as aspects of strong instructional leadership, than as independent causes" (p. 3). Frequent monitoring is an action that an instructional leader may take, and an orderly climate may be an outcome of leadership; in this sense they are related to leadership. For purposes of this study it is argued that the components should be seen not as separate factors, but as interrelated parts of the whole organization. They encompass the actions and the outcomes that are shaped and molded by leadership of principal and school staff, district and state administrators, and the community in ways that promote or limit increased student achievement. Through leadership, the schoolwide variables are altered in ways that create a context as well as the parameters for learning in the classroom. It is also hypothesized that the relationships among the components are reciprocal rather than causal: change in one component or its parts affects changes in other components in an interactive process. The components and their variables cannot be viewed as independent factors.

It is also recognized that schools do not operate in a vacuum. Figure 1.2 places the individual school in the larger community context. The two larger environmental factors that influence schools are: (a) the district and state educational authorities within which each school exists, and (b) the social context of the families and community from which students are drawn.

Several recent studies have shown the relationship between district practices and increased school effectiveness (Chrispeels and Pollack, 1989; Hallinger and Murphy, 1982; LaRocque and Coleman, 1987). These studies have described several district variables that seemed to account for higher levels of effectiveness in schools within districts and between districts. Some of the actions which have been identified as helpful to school-based improvement efforts are clear academic focus and goals at the district level, curriculum alignment, test data analysis, structured staff development that addresses identified needs (e.g., clinical supervision and teaching and cooperative learning), and leadership training for principals. The relationships between the schools and their districts were explored in this study.

The second environmental influencing factor is the social context of the school community. While the study of the social context of schooling has existed for some time, only recently have researchers turned their attention to the relationship between the social context of the school and school effectiveness (Andrews, Soder, and Jacoby, 1986; Chubb and Moe, 1986; Estler, 1985; Hallinger and Murphy, 1986, 1989; Miller and Sayre, 1986; Rowan and Denk, 1984; Teddlie and Stringfield, 1985).

The studies suggest that high SES and low SES effective schools are characterized by different patterns of curricular breadth, allocations of time for learning, school mission, patterns of principal instructional leadership, opportunities for student recognition, expectations for student achievement, and home-school relations. (Hallinger and Murphy, 1989, p. 9).

In their study of high and low SES effective schools, Hallinger and Murphy (1986) found that in a high SES school, the school develops strong

links with its environment and the principal's time is often focused on parent/community/school relations; whereas principals in low SES effective schools are highly visible in the classroom and are more task oriented. In essence the school buffers itself from the community environment and works to create a learning climate that is safe and secure and built on high expectations for student achievement within the school walls. The eight schools in this study represented a wide range of socioeconomic levels and provided an opportunity to explore some of the differences in the social context issues raised by the studies cited above.

Figure 1.1: A diagram of the relationship of the schoolwide effectiveness factors, school leadership and student outcomes in an effective school

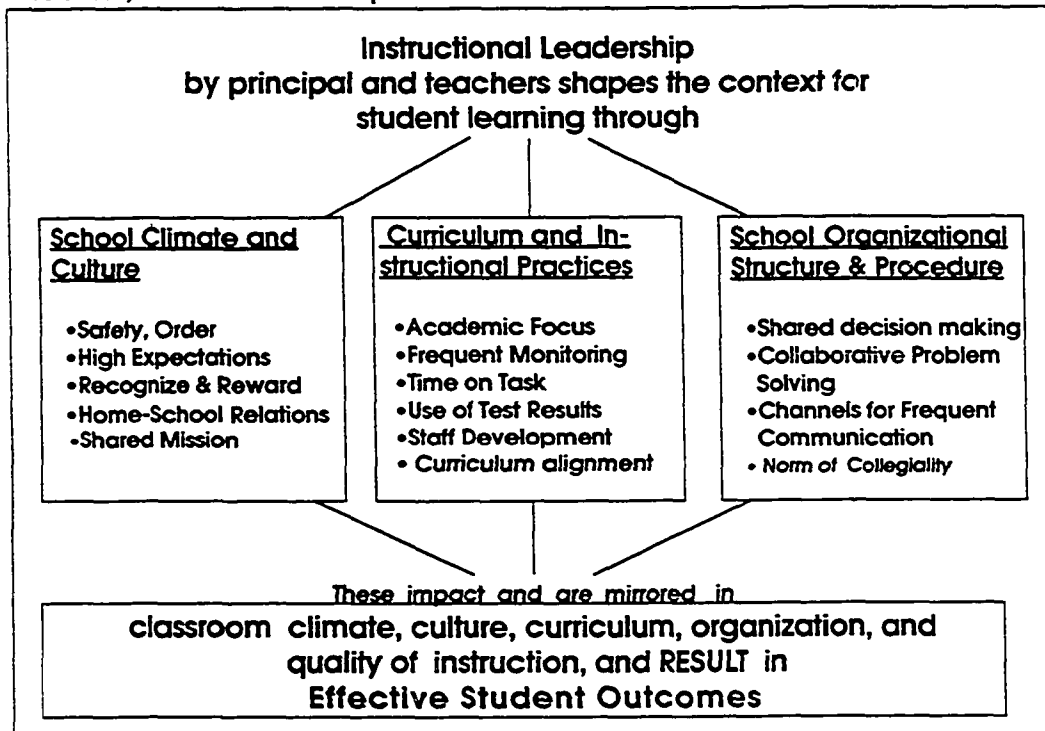
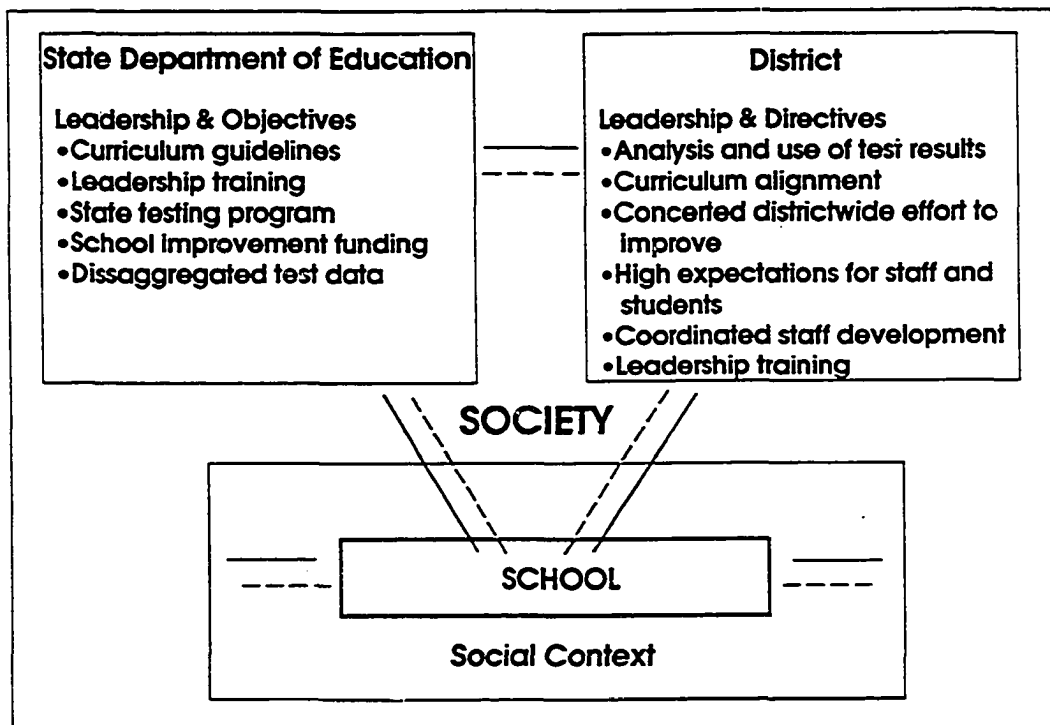


Figure 1.2: Total School Environment



Definition of Terms

A definition of terms is essential for clarifying the meaning of key concepts that were used in this study.

California Assessment Program (CAP) is the state administered norm-referenced test of basic skills (reading, written language, and mathematics) given at third, sixth, eighth, and twelfth grade. The results allow schools to assess their progress in relation to district and state averages, to compare how students from different ethnic or parent occupational groups are performing, and to assess program strengths and weaknesses. No individual student scores are reported. The results from the CAP were used as the basis for determining effectiveness.

Clear school mission is one of the seven effective schools characteristics. Its presence is demonstrated by a statement of what the school/district is striving to become, written in measurable, observable terms which can be operationalized for planning, implementation, and evaluation purposes as well as by a clearly defined and articulated curriculum with expected outcomes.

Correlates refer to the school characteristics researchers have found to be present in effective schools. The number of correlates identified range from five to fourteen. For purposes of this study seven major correlates were used to assess teacher attitudes and perceptions. The correlates are instructional leadership, home/school relations, clear school mission, frequent monitoring, opportunity to learn and time on task, safe and orderly learning environment and high expectations.

Correlate assessment refers to the process by which administrator, staff, parents, and students' perceptions regarding the presence of the seven

effective school correlates or characteristics are collected. The San Diego Effective Schools surveys represent the assessment tools used in this study.

Curriculum alignment is the process by which the written curriculum is matched to the stated instructional objectives and the tests used to measure achievement.

Disaggregation is the term used to describe the process for analyzing outcome data, such as CAP scores, by student subgroups within the school or district (e.g., gender, socioeconomic status, race or ethnicity) to determine the school's effectiveness in serving all children.

Effective school is a school in which equity in student outcomes is achieved by meeting the following three criteria:

1. A growth of 25 scaled score points in reading and mathematics over four years, or scaled scores that are maintained above the comparison band as indicated on the California Assessment Program (CAP).

2. A decrease in the number of students coring in the bottom quartile in reading and mathematics by 10 percentage points over four years, or the number of students scoring below Q1 remains at 15% or less.

3. An increase of 25 scaled score points over four years in the achievement of the lowest SES subgroup in reading and mathematics, or achievement levels of the lowest SES subgroup that are above the statewide average in reading and mathematics.

Effective schools leadership is an influence relationship among principal school staff, students, community, and district staff intended to bring about changes in the culture, curriculum and instruction, and organization of the school so that there are significant and equitable achievement gains for all ethnic and income groups.

Effective school leaders are those persons who through the use of power resources and influence relationships are able to bring about real, intended change. Leaders can be teachers, support staff, parents, students, central office staff as well as principals.

Equity is the degree of fairness of the educational program in providing learning opportunities and making available the intended curriculum to all students. Equity is measured by the disaggregated results attained on achievement tests, as well as on other student outcome measures such as attendance, tardiness, suspensions, and discipline infractions.

Frequent monitoring is the regular and frequent assessment of student progress in mastering the intended curriculum that aids the teacher in planning reteaching or developing new strategies for remedial, accelerated, and enriched instruction.

High expectations are the beliefs and attitudes of the staff that all students can learn and that the staff has the capacity to teach all children the intended curriculum. High expectations are manifested in the organizational structures, and curriculum and instructional practices of the school.

Home-school relations is one of the seven correlates that addresses the ways in which the school communicates with and involves parents in the education of their children.

Instructional leadership is one of the effective school correlates and is intended to distinguish between management and leadership by focusing on ways in which school leaders give direction, emphasis, and support to the school's instructional program in ways that increase student achievement.

Leadership behaviors are the acts, practices, and activities that leaders do in the exercise of leadership.

Opportunity to learn and time on task are one of the seven correlates that assess alterable classroom variables, such as the quality and amount of time and instructional strategies that enable all students to participate in the learning process. These variables often determine how many students will achieve mastery of the curriculum.

School climate/safe and orderly environment represents another of the effective school correlates and represents the feeling tone or ethos of the school that creates an environment with discernable and measurable features such as discipline rules, number of discipline infractions, staff and student morale, levels of parent involvement, types of teacher collaboration.

School Culture represents the complex web of values, norms and beliefs, often unstated and unrecognized, that formally and informally shape, guide, and determine the behavior of the members of the school community. The culture is manifest in the rites, rituals, myths, legends, metaphors, symbols, heroes and heroines of the organization.

Socioeconomic status (SES) reflects income and educational level of the parents of students and is a key variable used for disaggregating student achievement data and tracking progress of different subgroups based on their status. The socioeconomic status or background from which a student comes has frequently been used to justify lowered expectations and explain poor outcomes for some groups of students.

Teacher Expectations Student Achievement (TESA) is a training program to help educators to become aware of the research on how teacher expectations and classroom practices affect student achievement, and to develop pedagogical skills to increase teacher effectiveness in the classroom.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Stimulus for Effective Schools Research

In the 1960s, educators and policymakers were concerned with the disparities in student achievement, especially between white students in the suburbs and minority students attending inner city schools. One of the primary purposes of the Equality of Educational Opportunity study (Coleman et al., 1966) was to determine the factors that would enhance equality of student outcomes. The conclusions of Coleman et al. were that school inputs (teacher characteristics, salary, length of tenure, funding, size of the school library, etc.) had relatively little impact on student outcomes and that family background and socioeconomic status (SES) were the primary determinants of how well students did in school. The central message drawn from their study was that schools reproduced and magnified the social and economic disparities with which students began school.

Their conclusions influenced educators, researchers and policymakers in two important ways. First, policy initiatives were launched to establish compensatory programs, including Title I and Head Start, in an effort to overcome the deficits of the students entering schools from low SES backgrounds. As Ryan (1976) pointed out in Blaming the Victims, these programs, however, assumed that the fault still lies with the individual even if now the low achievement is environmentally produced rather than genetic in origin.

A second impact of Coleman's conclusion was to prompt some researchers to reexamine the school effects issue. One of the major criticisms of Coleman et al. (1966) is that the study focused too much on inputs and not enough on the process of schooling. School effectiveness research has centered around explaining what goes on within schools to produce differential outcomes. In other words, school effectiveness research moved beyond a simple input-output model to examining what happened to the inputs in a process-product model of change. Critical to this process-product model is the definition of effectiveness.

Measuring School Effectiveness. While not always consistent, the definitions of effectiveness have had a common theme—the acquisition of basic skills by all students. Weber (1971) discussed effectiveness in terms of schools where students from low income and ethnically diverse backgrounds were reading at levels equal to their White middle class counterparts. Edmonds (1979) described an effective school as one where there was minimum mastery of essential skills by all students that would enable them to be successful at the next level of schooling. He also defined effectiveness in terms of equity: "School effectiveness is a function of the extent to which equal proportions of the social class subsets demonstrate minimum mastery" (Edmonds, 1984, p. 39). To determine a school's effectiveness, one cannot just look at overall achievement, but must do some type of disaggregated analysis of student achievement data to see that equal proportions of each social class are mastering essential skills. The definition of equity is central to the meaning of school effectiveness and differentiates it from the excellence movement which has primarily focused on identifying good middle and upper middle class schools without examining the school's impact on different student subsets within the school (Lezotte, 1984).

Without disaggregating achievement data by some criteria such as mother's educational level, family profession, or reduced or free lunch recipients, a school's effectiveness cannot be determined.

The effective schools studies conducted in the latter half of the 1970s and 1980s demonstrated that there were school effects that produced differences in outcomes for students (Brookover et al., 1979; California State Department of Education, 1980; Edmonds, 1979; Edmonds and Frederickson, 1978; Klitgaard and Hall, 1974; Lezotte, Edmonds, and Ratner, 1974; Pollack, Chrispeels and Watson, 1987; Rutter et al., 1979; Teddlie and Stringfield, 1985; Weber, 1971). In general, standardized achievement tests were used as the outcome measures in all these studies; however, data were also collected on student self-concept (Brookover et al., 1979) and on student attendance, discipline, employment, and delinquency (Rutter et al., 1979). Mortimore et al. (1988) in their study of British junior schools in London, entitled School Matters, used a variety of outcome measures to assess pupil progress. In addition to standardized tests, the researches evaluated student growth and development in practical mathematics, creative writing, oral presentations, behavior, and student attitudes toward school.

The use of standardized tests as the measure of effectiveness is, nevertheless, one of the primary criticism of the effective schools research (Brophy and Good, 1983; Purkey and Smith, 1983; Rowan, Bossert and Dwyer, 1983; Stedman, 1988). As Rowan et al. asserted:

Past research has defined school effectiveness narrowly as instructional effectiveness and has measured this construct using standardized achievement tests. This approach ignores the variety of school goals

and yields measures of school effectiveness that are invalid and unreliable. (p. 25)

While Brophy and Good (1983) recognized the narrowness of the outcome measures used in the research, they pointed out that the Rutter et al. (1979) study showed that academically effective schools also achieve other desirable outcomes. The study by Mortimore et al. (1988), like the Rutter study, also confirmed that schools that scored significantly higher on standardized tests, achieved positive outcomes in terms of other educational goals that were assessed. Stark and Levine (1976) found that schools with successful reading programs also taught higher order thinking skills. While there is justification in criticizing the narrowness of standardized tests as the only outcome measure, the evidence, especially from the two British studies that used a variety of measures, showed that good test scores were an indicator of positive outcomes in other areas as well. Defining and expanding the outcome measures beyond standardized test scores are areas that need more research and study, but test scores that indicate improvement for all subgroups obtained over several years, should not be dismissed as an invalid measure of school effectiveness and quality of school life.

History of Effective Schools Research

The purpose of the effective schools research has been to identify effective schools and to understand why these schools had student outcomes that exceed the expected norm. To accomplish the second purpose, a number of studies were undertaken to identify factors that would help to explain why some schools were more effective than others. One of the first effective schools studies was done by Weber (1971) who used a case study methodology to study four inner city schools that had reading scores more

comparable to suburban middle class schools. He identified eight factors that seemed to account for the high level of reading in these low SES schools. These factors were: (a) strong leadership, (b) an atmosphere of order and enjoyment, (c) a strong emphasis on reading, (d) high expectations, (e) additional reading personnel, (f) teaching of phonics, (g) individualization, and (h) careful evaluation of student progress (Weber, 1971, pp. 3, 5-7, 29).

Kiltgaard and Hall (1973), conducted one of the first large scale studies examining several sets of data from elementary schools in Michigan, New York City Project Talent data, New York state school districts and individual schools data, and Project Yardstick data. They used a regression analysis of achievement data in an effort to identify outlier schools that had exceptionally high achievement scores that could not be explained by non-school factors or random variations (p. 12). The study was not designed to assess process variables that might explain why some schools were more effective than others; however, from a more in depth analysis of the data collected from the Michigan schools, three input factors were identified that seem to distinguish the effective from the less effective schools: smaller classes, more teachers with five or more years of experience, and more teachers earning \$11,000 or more" (p. 21).

California was one of the first states to initiate an effective schools study. The California State Department of Education examined the process variables that distinguished schools with unusually high student achievement scores from those with unusually low scores. A two stage study was conducted. First, sixth grade California Assessment Program achievement data was collected on 2,500 schools as well as information on school size, SES status, percentage of minority enrollment and school locality. The latter

data were used as predictor variables. Analysis of this data showed a curvilinear relationship between achievement and total percentage minority enrollment. Similar to the Coleman et al. (1966) findings, student achievement was positively related to SES and negatively related to both bilingualism and total percentage minority enrollment.

While the general analysis showed that background factors were significant predictors of student success, several unusually effective schools, whose results could not be explained by background factors, were also identified. The second phase of the study involved collecting data from individual schools sites through questionnaires, interviews, classroom observations, school environment photographs, fiscal data, and observers' judgments to determine why some schools were more effective than others. Five important characteristics were identified: (a) higher achieving schools reported spending more time on reading and social studies and less time on mathematics, (b) the importance of teacher perceptions of administrative support, (c) more effective classroom teaching strategies in the higher achieving schools, (d) different grouping practices, and (e) the existence of well-defined understanding between teachers and principals regarding locus of responsibility and authority (California State Department of Education, pp. 8-9, 22, 26).

This study was significant for two reasons. First, it identified the importance of teacher perceptions of principal leadership which has been confirmed and elaborated on in studies conducted by Andrews (1987) and Andrews and Bamberg (1989). Second, the study identified that there was a link between schoolwide effectiveness characteristics and effective classroom practices. This finding also has been confirmed and further refined in extensive studies in Louisiana (Teddlie, Stringfield, and Suarez,

1985; Teddlie, Kirby and Stringfield, 1989) and in London, England (Mortimore, Sammons, Stoll, Lewis and Ecob, 1988).

Another important research study that contributed to identifying factors that helped to explain differences in outcomes was a study by Brookover, Schweitzer, Schneider, Beady, Flood and Wisenbaker (1978). They examined a variety of school level climate variables in sixty-eight randomly selected Michigan public schools. Fourth grade mean school achievement scores in reading and mathematics served as the dependent variable and the SES status of the school and percentage white were the variables used to control for background factors. Multiple regression analyses disclosed that student's sense of futility accounted for much of the variance in school achievement.

Four schools were then selected for extensive observation and were paired on the basis of similar racial compositions and SES but with significantly different outcomes. Key factors that accounted for differences between the two sets of schools included:

1. Teachers in higher achieving schools spent a larger proportion of class time in instruction.
2. Low socioeconomic status schools achieving at high levels grouped students according to a more objective measures of student performance (as opposed to teacher perception of abilities and potential), and students were moved more easily to a higher group when performance was demonstrated.
3. Higher achieving schools used more instructional activities in which groups of students were competing as teams rather than individually. These games were used to "create and maintain enthusiasm for the subject matter."
(194-197)

4. Reinforcement practices differed between lower achieving and higher achieving schools. In lower achieving schools, students frequently got the same reinforcement for wrong answers as for correct answers or received no reinforcement at all. (Brookover et al., 1978, pp. 315-317)

This study was significant because it identified some of the key elements of school climate that impact student learning. Students' sense of efficacy and the quality of rewards and recognition given were identified as important school and classroom variables contributing to higher achievement.

Edmonds (1975), who many regard as the father of the effective schools movement, added to the effective schools research knowledge base with his study of high achieving schools in a Detroit, Michigan model cities neighborhood. All of the schools in this study served students from the same socioeconomic status; thus, it was possible to control for income and social class and to examine the impact of school variables. From a pool of twenty schools, eight were identified as effective in teaching math, nine in reading, and five in both. Effectiveness was defined as being at or above the city average grade equivalent. From this research, other studies of New York schools, and analysis of other studies, Edmonds (1979) and Brookover and Lezotte, (1979) identified five variables which they felt accounted for higher than expected achievement in effective schools serving low income students. These factors were: (a) strong administrative leadership, (b) high expectations for children's achievement, (c) an orderly atmosphere conducive to learning, (d) an emphasis on basic skills acquisition, and (e) frequent monitoring.

These five variables have become known as the five factor model. They have frequently become the basis on which a number of improvement

programs have been built (e.g. the New York City School Improvement Project, the SHAL program in St. Louis, Missouri, and the Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Project RISE). Other researchers have continued to add to the list of variables. Tomlinson (1980) added efficient use of classroom time and using parents or aides in the classroom to keep children on task. A Phi Delta Kappa (1980) review "suggests that factors such as increasing the adult/child ratio, fostering high levels of parental contact and involvement, and goal-specific staff development programs be added to the list of effective schools characteristics" (Purkey and Smith, p. 430).

At the same time effective schools studies were being conducted in the United States, Rutter and his colleagues (1979) were conducting an extensive and longitudinal study of twelve inner city London high schools. This study was unique among the effective schools studies for several reasons. First, it was one of the first longitudinal studies tracking students over a five year period. Second, the study focused on high schools, which had not been studied extensively in the United States. Third, the study assessed more than test scores. Other student outcomes such as attendance, student behavior and delinquency as well as achievement were measured. The school climate or ethos emerged as a significant variable. Other characteristics included: (a) academic emphasis, (b) teacher skills, (c) teachers' actions in lessons, (d) rewards and punishment, (e) pupil conditions, (f) responsibility and participation, and (g) staff organization (Rutter et al., 1979, pp. 30-35, 176-203).

Mortimore and his colleagues (1988) conducted an effective schools study of junior schools in London that built on the Rutter study by refining and addressing some of the methodological questions that had been raised in reviews of the Rutter study. Mortimore et al. (1988) identified twelve key

factors which they found to distinguish between more and less effective schools once student background factors had been controlled. These factors or characteristics were as follows:

1. Purposeful leadership of the staff by the headteacher. Heads in more effective schools were actively involved in the school, closely monitored pupil progress, and were able to effectively make decisions they needed to make and to involve the whole staff when their participation was essential.

2. The involvement of the deputy head. In schools where the deputy was actively involved with the head, shared in decision-making, and was delegated key responsibilities, achievement was higher.

3. The involvement of teachers. Teachers in the more effective schools played a major role in developing curriculum guidelines, in deciding which classes they would teach, and they were consulted about other policy decisions.

4. Consistency amongst teachers. Achievement was enhanced in schools where there was consistency among teachers in both curriculum and teaching strategies..

5. Structured sessions. "In effective classes, pupils' work was organised in broad outline by the teacher, who ensured that there was always plenty of work to do" (p. 252). Students were encouraged to work independently after necessary skills had been taught.

6. Intellectually challenging teaching. Pupil progress was greatest in those classes where pupils were challenged, higher order questions and statements were used, and where children were encouraged to use their creative imagination and powers of problem-solving. These classrooms also provided a bright and interesting learning environment.

7. Work-centred environment. There was a high time-on-task ratio in the more effective schools. The noise level was low and the engagement in the learning task was high.

8. Limited focus within sessions. In the more effective schools, teachers focused on one or at the most two curriculum areas during each instructional block. In other words, while, students might be engaged in different types of activities at different learning centers, all were working on mathematics at the same time.

9. Maximum communication between teachers and pupils. Pupils progressed faster in classrooms where there were high levels of interaction between students and teacher.

10. Record keeping. In the more effective schools, not only was the head teacher closely monitoring pupil progress, but teachers kept careful records of their students' progress. "Furthermore, in many effective schools, teachers kept samples of pupils' work in folders to be passed on to their next teacher" (p. 254).

11. Parental involvement. In the more effective schools parents were involved in all aspects of school life, not just in the PTA.

12. Positive climate. The ethos in the more effective schools was considerable more positive than in the less effective schools. There was more emphasis on rewards than on punishments. Discipline was firm and fair both in and out of the classrooms. Teachers also viewed their working conditions as positive. (pp. 250-255)

The Mortimore et al. study is significant because the methodology used allowed the researchers to examine both schoolwide and classroom variables. This study again clearly showed that there was a link between effective schools and effective teaching practices. Furthermore, this study

illustrated that, even though there are cultural and historical differences in the schools systems in the United States and the United Kingdom, many variables that have been used to describe effective schools and effective classrooms were the same in both countries.

As can be seen from these various lists, each study identified both similar and unique variables that correlated with higher than expected student achievement. The number of variables ranged from the five identified by Edmonds to the fourteen that were cited in the work of Murphy, Weil, Hallinger, and Mitman (1982). The number has varied, in part, because of the variety of independently conducted studies, the methodologies used, and the diversity of contexts in which the studies were conducted. As discussed in Chapter One, the variables have been clustered in a variety of ways. Figure 1.1 depicts the variables clustered under three major components that served as the framework for this study. The remainder of the literature review which follows discusses in more detail what has been learned so far about each of the the three components and their variables (school culture and climate , organizational structures and procedures, instructional strategies and classroom practices), the relationship between school leadership and the components, and the issue of school effectiveness and educational change.

School Climate and Culture

Goodlad (1983) in A Place Called School discussed the sameness throughout the United States in schools the research team visited. He described the dependability and durability of educational practices in schools within the country. Deal (1987) has argued that the sameness exists even across countries. "An afternoon in a Japanese high school several years ago

also seemed remarkably familiar. If I had spoken Japanese, I could easily have taken the place of the teacher whose class I observed" (p. 3). These two authors have pointed out the significance in understanding the culture of schools.

Since the establishment of schools as a formal institution of the state, they have played a significant role in transmitting the culture of society to the young. In addition to transmitting the values and beliefs of the wider community each school, as an organization, has developed a culture of its own, and the stability and predictability of school culture is understandable. Waller in his book, The Sociology of Teaching (cited in Deal (1987) characterized the culture of schools in the following way:

There are, in the school, complex rituals of personal relationships, a set of folkways, mores, and irrational sanctions, a moral code based upon them. There are games, which are sublimated wars, teams, and an elaborate set of ceremonies concerning them. There are traditions, and traditionalists waging their world-old battle against innovators. There are laws and there is the problem of enforcing them, there is *Sittlichkeit* . (p. 4))

What Waller observed in 1932, Goodlad found to be equally true in the 1980s. As Deal pointed out in his discussion of school culture, it is the shared culture described by Waller that gives meaning to the process of education and enables administration, staff, and students to function in the school context. However, Deal goes on to state, "The same stable implicit pattern frustrates efforts to improve, reform or change educational forms and practices at all levels" (p. 4).

In many respects, the effective schools research needs to be viewed as a effort to describe and understand the culture of schools that produce more

equitable outcomes for students. The conclusion has been that while there are many similarities among schools, key differences in culture or ethos exist between more effective and less effective schools. In essence, effective schools have been able to alter the cultural norms, to create new rituals and ceremonies, surface new heroes and heroines, and recount new stories, that both change and, in turn, reflect change in the culture in ways that differentiate effective schools from the typical.

Safe and orderly learning environment. A salient feature of a school's culture is the climate or rules and regulations that govern student and staff behavior and relationships. Effective schools have been found to have a safe, orderly, and positive learning environment (Armor et al., 1976; Brookover and Lezotte, 1979; Edmonds and Frederickson, 1978; Levine and Stark, 1981; Mortimore, et.al., 1988; NIE Safe School Study, 1978; Pollack et al., 1987; Rutter et al., 1979; Teddlie and Stringfield, 1985; Trisman et al., 1976; Weber, 1971). In general, the literature seems to indicate that effective schools maintain a safe and orderly environment through clear, well-defined school and classroom rules and an emphasis on the positive. For example, Rosenholtz (1985) in her review of the effective schools literature found that issues of discipline were handled differently in effective and ineffective schools. In less effective schools:

Pupil control problems become paramount in collegial and administrative relations, and the goal of order displaces academic achievement as the definition of effectiveness. . . . Despite all this, however, there is an absence of agreement on the nature of disciplinary standards, on the manner in which they should be enforced, on who

should enforce them, and even on the definition of what constitutes a disciplinary infraction. (p. 359)

Rossman, Corbett, and Firestone (1988) in their study of change and effectiveness in high schools discovered that establishing order cannot become an end itself. "When it is, . . . it tends to be oppressive and stultifying" (p.139). Furthermore, they found that a concern for and preoccupation with order can result in an abuse of power, belittling actions, and a lack of respect among teachers and students. While a review of the effective schools literature indicates that there is no order to the correlates and "there is no single combination of variables that will produce an effective school" (Purkey and Smith, 1983), there is some evidence that safety and order may be a prerequisite. For example, Levine and Lezotte (1990) have made this point in their recent review of the effective schools literature.

Support for the importance of orderly environment as a prerequisite for effectiveness can be found in: many case studies of "out-of-control" schools in which poor or ineffective discipline obviously hampers learning (e.g., Payne, 1984); descriptions of schools-particularly senior high schools in the inner city in which systematic efforts to improve discipline clearly constituted a critical pre-condition in moving toward instructional effectiveness (e.g., Kozberg and Winegar, 1981; Comer, 1980, 1987; U.S. Department of Education, 1987; Levine and Eubanks, 1989); and descriptions of the sequence of events that occurred in schools that have become much more effective (e.g., Taylor, 1984; Stringfield and Teddlie, 1987). (pp. 18-19)

Rewards and recognition. An element of culture and a strategy in improving the safety and order of the school climate that has been identified was the implementation of rewards and recognition. Rutter et al. (1979) found in their study of twelve secondary schools that recognition of students for good behavior and limited use of punishment were associated with better examination results. Mortimore et al. (1988) confirmed these findings at the junior school level.

Where teachers actively encouraged self-control on the part of pupils, rather than emphasizing the negative aspects of their behavior, progress and development were enhanced. What appeared to be important was firm but fair classroom management. The class teachers' attitude to pupils was also important. Positive effects resulted where teachers obviously enjoyed teaching their classes, valued the fun factor, and communicated their enthusiasm to the children. (p. 255).

Pollack et al. (1987) in their study of elementary schools found that schoolwide recognition in public ceremonies for student academic improvements and achievement as well as recognition of good behavior distinguished effective from less effective schools. Murphy and Hallinger (1985) have argued that schoolwide recognition is more important in low SES schools than in high SES schools because the norms operating in low SES communities give less recognition and reinforcement for academic achievement. In high SES schools extensive public recognition may be less necessary since parents give more recognition to their own child's achievements and there also tends to be more generalized public recognition for the overall quality of the school.

Based on all of these studies, the findings indicated that effective schools, especially those serving lower income communities, have clearly

defined discipline plans that focused on positive rewards and recognition of student behavior, stressed academic achievements as well as behavior, and recognized students in public ceremonies. In combination, these factors helped to create a positive learning climate. An issue that has not been examined extensively in the school effectiveness literature is what kinds of incentives, rewards, and recognition tend to motivate teachers to become more achievement oriented and, thus, help to redefine the school culture's definition of effectiveness.

High expectations. High expectations for both behavior and performance is another key variable that falls into the school culture and climate cluster. Like safe and orderly environment, high expectations for students' educational accomplishments is one of the most consistent findings across all studies (Purkey and Smith, 1983). While a safe, orderly, clean, and attractive learning environment is reflective of a school's climate, expectations for both student and staff performance reveal the underlying culture of the school. The simple statement that all children can and will learn the intended curriculum represents a profound break from the traditional beliefs and practices that sort students into winners and losers. According to Rutter (1979), the ethos of high expectations and high achievement distinguished effective from ineffective schools.

While the effective schools literature emphasizes the importance of high expectations, it has remained one of the most difficult variables to define and operationalize. How does a staff teaching in a school in a low income neighborhood with a predominance of students from low socioeconomic families and diverse ethnic backgrounds develop a belief that these students can learn as well as middle class White students? Rosenholtz (1983, and

references therein) cited the significant role of the principal in setting high expectations for students and staff. She stated:

Ineffective principals, uncertain that changes in student performance can actually be brought about, appear not to act in ways that make student learning possible. When students fail to make academic progress in unsuccessful schools, principals vilify teachers and students as the culprits (see, e.g., Brookover et al., 1979; California State Department of Education, 1980; Levy, 1970; Morris, 1982). From the ineffective principal's viewpoint, it may make no sense to set academic goals if teachers or students seem incapable of reaching them. In contrast, effective principals convey certainty that teachers can improve student performance and that students themselves are capable of learning. (p. 360)

Rosenholtz (1985) also pointed out that setting clear academic goals was an essential first step toward actualizing high expectations. Venezky and Winfield (1979) found that principals in the effective schools they studied set a goal to have 60% of their students reading at grade level or above. Of course, if teachers are able to alter the instructional program in ways that bring about increased student learning, this tends to reinforce and enhance their expectations for future success with students. There is a natural redoubling of efforts. On the other hand, the effective schools literature has not addressed the problem of whether teacher expectations fall if initial improvement efforts are not successful in producing even minimal gains.

Home-school relations. Another dimension of school culture and climate is home-school relations and parent involvement. There is a

growing body of research that shows when parents are actively involved in their children's education, their achievement is higher (Henderson, 1981, 1985). The importance of family factors in determining student achievement, of course, was a major finding from Coleman's study (1966). More recent work (Clark, 1985, McDill, Rigsby, and Myers, 1969, Dornbusch, 1987) has shown that low income and limited education do not prevent parents from engaging in parent involvement activities. Parental involvement is greater in higher income families, but when low income families read to their children, attend parent teacher conferences, volunteer at school, and engage in other supportive activities, their students also do better in school. In addition, research on effective Headstart programs showed that when the school took the initiative, parents could be instructed in how to assist their children at home and a positive impact on learning resulted.

The significance of teacher and school initiative is further supported by Epstein and Becker (1982) in their study of teacher practices that supported parent involvement. They showed that teacher attitude toward parents made a difference in student reading achievement and students and parents' positive feelings toward school. Higher reading achievement was found in classrooms where teachers invited all parents in their class to be involved at home in reading and other language arts activities and provided parents with information and ideas on how to help. In contrast, teachers in matched classes who did not encourage parental participation had lower reading scores.

Edmonds (1983), when asked why he had not included parent involvement in his model of school effectiveness said that his intent was to show that schools could make a difference in student outcomes without

parent involvement. According to Edmonds, parents had for too long been used as the excuse to explain why schools could not successfully teach students from low income families. Several effective schools studies, however, that have examined the issue of parent involvement have found that there were differences in the levels and types of parent involvement in effective versus ineffective schools. Mortimore et al. (1988) found that schools where the head teacher was accessible to parents and there was an open-door policy in operation, student outcomes were higher. "Our findings show parental involvement in the life of the school to be a positive influence upon pupils' progress and development. This included help in classrooms and on educational visits, and attendance at meetings to discuss children's progress " (Mortimore et al., p. 255).

Brookover and Lezotte (1979) found that in more effective schools, parent involvement was characterized by parents taking the initiative in school contacts. Levine and Stark (1981) found levels of parent involvement higher in effective schools. Armor (1976) found high levels of parent-teacher contacts and parent-principal contact in the effective schools he studied. There are two questions that have not been fully answered:

1. Are there school conditions that foster or inhibit parent initiative and involvement?
2. Why do teachers in some schools blame parents for the poor outcomes and in others, similar parents are helped to be partners in the educational process?

Epstein and Becker's (1982) work has indicated that teacher attitudes are a factor. If teachers expect parents can help and act on that expectation, parents will help in ways that support student learning. Thus, it appears

there may be a close link between home-school relations and teacher expectations.

Shared mission. In addition to holding high expectations, staff in effective schools also seemed to have a stronger sense of a shared mission (Brookover et al., 1978; Clancy, 1982; Sizemore et al., 1983; Taylor, 1984). Brookover (1979) found that in the more effective schools teachers more fully accepted their responsibility for student achievement. In their review, Levine and Lezotte (in press) found that staff members in higher achieving schools were goal focused.

"High commitment to improved achievement among faculty in an unusually effective school seems to constitute a central part of their organizational culture, to the extent that in effect it not only partly defines their core mission but helps them cope with and overcome the many frustrations and obstacles encountered in striving to improve learning." (p. 22)

Curriculum and Instructional Practices

Curriculum and instructional practices represent the second component and cluster of variables that are central to the interactive model presented in Figure 1.1. For purposes of this study, the variables that are included in this component are academic focus, curriculum alignment, classroom instructional strategies, frequent monitoring, test data analysis, opportunity to learn and time on task, and staff development. This cluster of variables provides the link between research on schoolwide correlates encompassed in the effective schools research and classroom variables associated with the research on effective teaching.

Academic focus. A review of the literature has shown that an academic focus, especially an emphasis on basic skills acquisition, characterized effective schools (Brookover and Lezotte, 1979; Edmonds, 1979; Levine and Stark, 1981; Pollack et al., 1987; Rutter et al., 1979; Trisman et al., 1976; Weber, 1971). Murphy et al. (1982) have asserted that "although most schools are characterized by vague, unclear, and multiple goals, effective schools have a clearly defined mission. . . . Goals are often framed in a way that they can be measured. Target dates, timelines, and responsibilities are often included in goal statements." (p.4). Pollack et al. (1987) found that the more effective schools used test data to identify weak areas and set targets for improvement.

Curriculum alignment. Curriculum consistency and alignment have been mentioned in a number of studies of effective schools. Levine and Stark (1981) in their analysis of inner city schools in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles found that curriculum and instruction were "explicitly and painstakingly aligned to improve the appropriateness of instruction in the classroom" (p. 62). Mortimore et al. (1988) found the same kind of instructional consistency in effective inner city London schools. Undertaking curriculum alignment and establishing grade level objectives are often listed as the first step in raising awareness with teachers about the the curriculum and in helping them to take a look at instructional practices (Armor et al., 1976; Levine and Stark, 1981; Pollack et al., 1987).

Classroom instructional strategies. In addition to an aligned curriculum, more effective schools have also been described as having more consistency in instructional practices throughout the school (Phi Delta Kappa, 1980). The literature review indicated that more effective teaching practices were consistently found in effective schools. These practices included high rates

of time-on-task, direct instruction to heterogeneous groups combined with cooperative learning strategies, use of mastery learning strategies, and an emphasis on higher order cognitive skills (Armor et al., 1976; Brookover and Lezotte, 1979; Good and Brophy, 1986; Levine and Stark, 1981; Pollack et al., 1987; Trisman et al., 1976). Principal leadership was identified as critical to ensuring that the curriculum was aligned, that learning time was maximized and consistently protected from interruptions, and that effective practices were used in the classroom (Edmonds, 1979; Levine and Stark, 1981; Murphy and Hallinger, 1984). In spite of these findings, Good and Brophy (1986), in their review of the school effects literature, argued that the findings had not been substantiated through any statistical analyses.

To date not a single naturalistic study of effective schools provides basic data (means and standard deviations for each classroom) to demonstrate that the behavior of individual teachers in one school differs from the behavior of teachers in other schools. (p. 586)

More recent studies, one by Mortimore et al. (1988) and the other by Teddlie, Kirby, and Stringfield (1989), have begun to address this criticism. As discussed earlier, Mortimore found five key practices that distinguished classrooms in more effective schools. These practices included:

1. Providing structured sessions that allowed students independent work opportunities within a framework that maximized learning time;
2. Conducting intellectually challenging teaching which usually occurred in class or group discussion settings in which the teacher systematically used higher order questions to challenge pupils thinking;
3. Organizing a work-centered environment where disruptive movements and noise levels were kept to a minimum and teachers spent

most of their time talking with students about the content of their work and giving them feedback;

4. Limiting the academic focus during each lesson so that all students in the class were working on the same curriculum area even if at different levels or in different groups;

5. Engaging in extensive communication between teachers and pupils typified effective classrooms. Time spent on organizational issues was kept to a minimum and teacher-pupil interaction was maximized by increasing the amount of time spent working with the whole class.

Teddlie, Kirby, Stringfield, and Suarzes (1985, 1989) have also conducted a thorough study that links teacher effectiveness with school effectiveness. They verified that teachers in the more effective schools displayed almost double the mean percent of interactive teaching as that displayed by teachers in less effective schools. Using a high inference Classroom Observation Instrument (COI) and Stallings' low inference time-on-task instrument, the research team documented six functions commonly identified as necessary for effective teaching: (a) review of previous learning, (b) proper demonstration or presentation of new material, (c) guided group practice, (d) appropriate feedback and correctives, (e) guided independent practice, and (f) periodic review. In addition, to these six functions several other supportive behaviors were observed, including teacher conveyance of expectations including opportunities for all students to respond and be involved in the learning activities, positive reinforcement, evidence of high student success rates, number of interruptions, discipline, ambience, and physical characteristics of the room including display of student work and teacher efforts to create an attractive learning environment.

After analyzing the field notes from observing 116 teachers in eight matched pairs of schools the authors concluded:

Teachers in more effective schools consistently display more of the effective teaching behaviors identified by Rosenshine and others than do teachers in less effective schools. These findings are consistent whether analyzed at the school level or at the classroom level. Furthermore, there are significant differences on nearly all identified dimensions of effective teaching. (p 10)

The authors found a significant interplay between effectiveness variables at the school level and at the classroom level. More interactive teaching in individual classrooms was supported by a principal that insisted on a clear academic focus. In the classroom stress was placed on mastery of skills and the mastery was reinforced schoolwide by prominent display of student academic work. These two studies by Mortimore et al. and Teddlie et al. have confirmed that there was a direct and observable link between effective teaching and effective schools and the connection point was primarily in the area of effective delivery of the curriculum through proven instructional strategies.

Frequent monitoring and test data analysis. In some studies of effective schools, frequent monitoring has been identified as a variable (Ferguson, 1984; McCormack-Larkin and Kritek, 1982; Mortimore et al.1988; Phi Delta Kappa, 1980). The monitoring included both checking pupil progress and using test results to modify the instructional program (Edmonds, 1979; Levine and Stark, 1981; Pollack et al., 1987). Rutter et al. (1979) found that more effective secondary schools in his study also provided immediate feedback to students on their progress.

A review of the New York School Improvement Project (1979) found that in improving schools, teachers relied on achievement and diagnostic test results to measure pupil progress and to formulate daily lesson plans. In the declining schools, teachers used informal evaluations and teacher-made tests to monitor pupil progress. In contrast, the California State Department of Education Study (1980) of schools with Early Childhood Education programs found that schools with both increasing and decreasing reading scores had problems with evaluation and monitoring. They found that the staff at both types of schools had minimal information or even misinformation about tests and test results, that test results were not used, that different forms of assessment were used which sometimes produced contradictory results, and that there was inadequate or nonexistent means for assessing the progress of limited-English or non-English speaking students.

Pollack et al. (1987), however, found that effective schools in California were using test results to shape the school's academic focus and guide the formation of improvement objectives. The greater emphasis on test scores by the state and the provision of more comprehensive test data may help to explain the differences in the California study conducted in 1975-76 and the results of the Pollack study conducted eleven years later. Levine and Lezotte (1990) have argued that there may be contradictory results for this correlate because the term frequent monitoring is not always consistently used. Also schools that focused on developing complex monitoring systems of basic skills often found that valuable teacher time was taken up with the monitoring task.

The Mortimore study indicated that monitoring needed to be viewed as both an instructional leadership strategy as well as a classroom strategy. At the schoolwide level monitoring and test data analysis were critical for

setting the academic focus and for altering the instructional program when indicated by overall school achievement results. At the classroom level, teachers were using the information to guide their own teaching practices. Pollack et al. (1987) found that when the more effective schools engaged in frequent monitoring and analysis of test results, enhancing the delivery of instruction and increasing the amount of interactive learning time emerged as typical improvement targets. If this type of analysis led to similar actions in other schools, it is not surprising that Mortimore et al. (1988) and Teddlie, Kirby, and Stringfield (1989) were able to find a direct relationship between effective schools variables and effective teaching.

Staff development. In many of the early studies of effective schools, staff development was not identified as a separate correlate in the Edmonds five factor model or in the Connecticut School Improvement Model, but staff development was cited as a key factor in improvement efforts. The California State Department of Education (1980) study of low and high achieving schools found that more effective schools provided ongoing inservice for teachers. Murphy and Hallinger (1984) in their model of school effectiveness identified structured staff development as a variable in achieving school effectiveness. The findings of Murphy and Hallinger, Pollack et al. (1987), and the review of effective schools literature by Purkey and Smith (1983), indicated that staff development in effective schools was typified by the following characteristics:

1. Staff development activities were designed around school goals and identified needs.
2. The entire staff (or at least a significant portion) participated in the staff development training or inservice activities.

3. There was follow through to see that the staff development activities were integrated into the classroom instructional program and additional support and training were provided when necessary.

4. There was a strong collegial relationship among staff members in the implementation of inservice programs, and individual staff members often led the training or inservice for their colleagues.

5. Within the normal context of school operations staff members had an opportunity to grow professionally through observing their colleagues, and through staff and grade level meetings to coordinate the curriculum, plan programs, and share instructional techniques and strategies.

In summary, the review of the literature has shown that specific practices in the area of curriculum and instruction distinguished higher achieving schools and classrooms from less effective schools and classrooms. More effective teaching practices were found in schools where there was a clear academic focus, learning time was maximized, test results were used to direct the focus and monitor pupil progress, and staff development was structured to address the needs of teachers.

Organizational Structures and Process

A third component addresses organizational structures, processes, and procedures that facilitate or hinder the implementation of changes in the other two components. Four essential elements included in this component are collaborative planning and problem-solving, shared decision making, norms of collegiality, and channels for frequent communication. A review of the literature indicated that collaborative planning and collegial relationships were key features of more effective schools (Armor et al., 1976; Berman and McLaughlin, 1977; Deal and Celotti, 1977; Glenn, 1981;

Little, 1981; New York State Department of Education, 1974b; Pollack et al., 1987, Trisman et al., 1976). Both effective schools studies and the literature on change and implementation of innovations have documented that collaborative planning occurs most frequently during the plan writing phase. Collaboration manifested itself also in such practices as grade level meetings or curriculum review committees (Levine and Stark, 1981; Pollack et al., 1987), frequent opportunities for the staff to exchange ideas (NIE Safe Schools Study, 1978; Pollack et al., 1987; Trisman et al., 1976), and staff meetings that focused on instructional issues and capitalize on staff expertise (Pollack et al., 1987). In addition to collaboration, Levine and Lezotte (in press) in their review found that observers documenting practices of effective schools had found that there was a problem solving orientation and a willingness by staff to change existing practices and implement more effective approaches.

This component is greatly influenced by the school's culture. If the cultural values embodied sharing, caring, and collegiality, structures tended to support these norms. If the structures assisted the teachers in accomplishing their goals, they in turn reinforced the norms of collegiality. In addition, Rosenholtz (1985) found that teachers who participated in decision making regarding technical and instructional issues also had greater role clarity and job satisfaction and felt more empowered to impact student achievement. Mortimore et al. (1988) found a similar pattern in British junior schools. "Our data also illustrate the importance of allowing and encouraging all the staff to play a full part in the life of the school. The examples we chose to use . . . were concerned with the allocation of pupils to classes, and the tailoring of curriculum guidelines to the individual school (p. 282)." Mortimore also pointed out that it was the leadership of the

principal or headteacher that either inhibited or encouraged teachers to be involved.

School Leadership

Leadership, while not always precisely defined, has been one of the most consistently mentioned characteristics of effective schools. Implementing school effectiveness means bringing about a fundamental change in the operation of a school to achieve extraordinary and atypical outcomes for students, especially for those students from low income or culturally diverse backgrounds. Accomplishing school effectiveness requires leadership, transforming leadership that is "concerned with *end-values*, such as liberty, justice, equality" (Burns, 1978, p. 426). Burns defined leadership as "the reciprocal process of mobilizing, by persons with certain motives and values, various economic political, and other resources, in a context of competition and conflict, in order to realize goals independently or mutually held by both leaders and followers" (p. 425). Transforming leadership, according to Burns, is the special process of uniting leaders and followers in pursuit of "'higher' goals, the realization of which is tested by the achievement of significant change" (pp. 425-426).

Rost (1988) built on Burns' definition by expanding on the reciprocal nature of leadership needed to bring about real, intended change. He stressed that both leader and followers are necessary for leadership to occur. This concept of leadership has significance for schools. Principals may lead schools, but it is the interactive process of principal, staff, and community working together to bring about change that will result in leadership.

Bennis and Nanus (1985) defined leadership as the "power and energy needed to initiate and sustain action or, to put it another way, *the capacity to*

translate intention into reality and sustain it" (p. 17). The primary force that unites leaders and followers is a vision. As Bennis and Nanus have said, "a vision may be as vague as a dream or as precise as a goal or mission statement. The critical point is that a vision articulates a view of a realistic, credible, attractive future for the organization, a condition that is better in some important ways than what now exists" (p. 89). A review of the literature indicated that leadership and vision were found in effective schools.

Strong leadership has been consistently listed as one of the correlates of an effective school (Armor, 1976; Benjamin, 1980; California State Department of Education, 1980; Edmonds, 1979; Eisner, 1980; Levine and Stark, 1981; Murphy, 1988; Reilly, 1980; Weber, 1971). These researchers generally focused on principals in effective schools studying their actions and behaviors. The principals were frequently referred to as instructional leaders indicating that they focused some of their attention on planning, guiding, monitoring, and evaluating instructional issues and student learning (De Bevoise, 1984). In addition to focusing on instructional issues, the literature also indicated that effective principals played a critical role in selecting new staff members, evaluating teacher performance and removing or transferring teachers who were considered to be blocking progress (California State Department, 1977; Levine, Levine and Eubanks, 1984; Sizemore, Brossard, and Harrigan, 1983; Stringfield and Teddlie, 1987; Teddlie, Wimplelberg, and Kirby, 1987).

The effective schools literature indicated that the principals of the effective schools were pictured as unique or *maverick* leaders (Hall, Rutherford, Hord and Huling, 1984). The principals have been described as "willing to bend rules and challenge or even disregard pressures or directions

from the central office or other external forces perceived as interfering with or hampering the effective operation of their schools" (Levine and Lezotte, in press). They have also been described as action oriented, involved in classroom processes, and staying close to children (Stringfield and Teddlie, 1990). Since many of the early case studies of effective schools were descriptions of inner-city schools in large districts, it is not surprising that these were the terms used to describe the principal. Studies by Hallinger and Murphy (1982) and Chrispeels and Pollack (1989) of schools in more diverse settings and in which district effectiveness factors are examined, have shown that in effective schools in effective districts there may not be as much tension between school and district nor as much need to buffer the school from district directives. Hallinger and Murphy and Teddlie and Stringfield have also found differences in leadership practices of principals of high and low SES schools. They found that principals in high SES schools spent less time in the classroom, gave less direction to teachers in the area of instruction, and spent more time addressing community concerns.

Many of the studies of principals have not been very clear in defining what is meant by the terms leadership or instructional leadership (Murphy, 1988, Rost, 1988; Van de Grift, 1990). Some studies described the principals' styles of leadership that were associated with implementation of innovation, change, and improvement (Hall, Rutherford, Hord and Huling, 1984). Others listed specific behaviors that principals did to enable their school to be effective (Blumberg and Greenfield, 1980; Bossert, Rowan, Dwyer, and Lee, 1981; Greenfield, 1982; Huff, Lake, and Schaalman, 1982; McEvoy, 1987; Persell, with Cookson and Lyons, 1981).

Blumberg and Greenfield, in their qualitative study of principals, stated that principal effectiveness was related to the ability to articulate and

communicate a vision for the school, set clear goals, take initiative, be resourceful in structuring the principals' roles and demands on their time, express a high degree of self-confidence and openness to others, tolerate ambiguity, be sensitive to the dynamic of power, and be willing to take risks and test the limits of the system. The Florida study (Huff et al., 1982) of the principals of 31 schools that were classified as high performing and average performing in terms of student outcomes identified similar characteristics. Neufeld, Farrar, and Miles (1987) described similar attributes as well as noting that in effective schools principals also emphasized achievement and evaluation of basic objectives, spent time in classrooms, gained community support, made it as easy as possible for teachers to spend their time teaching, and organized staff development that extended the skills of the staff. Many of these behaviors parallel attributes and behaviors of leaders of excellent companies (Bennis and Nanus, 1985; Kanter, 1983; Kouzes and Posner, 1987; Peters and Waterman, 1982).

Few of these studies have examined the interactive process of leadership. Hord, Stielgelbauer, and Hall (1985) recognized in their study of successful implementation of innovations that principals did not do it alone. Hord et al. identified a second change facilitator who worked closely with teachers to bring about successful change. However, this study still did not recognize the interactive process of leadership. Andrews and Bamburg (1989) have shown that teacher perceptions of principal leadership are related to student outcomes. Their study does not discuss whether the interaction between principal and staff is different or only the perceptions. Pollack et al. (1987) found that in the four effective schools in their study, principals played key roles in the change process, but leadership in the

schools was collective and collegial, and reflective of a reciprocal leader-follower relationship between principal and teachers.

Rost has pointed out that the leader-followers relationship is typically inherently unequal because of the authority patterns that define interactions and the unequal allocation of resources. "Typically, leaders have more influence because they are willing to commit more of the power resources they possess to the relationship, and they are more skilled at putting those power resources to work to influence others in the relationship" (p. 27). Principals, in particular, usually have more power resources to bring to the leadership process. Because of principal's position of authority most research has focused on the principalship rather than at the interactive process of principal, staff, and community. In their review of effective Louisiana schools, Stringfield and Teddlie (1990) did find some schools in which the principal played primarily a facilitative role and leadership was seen to come from a team of teachers or another individual. However, in most cases, they found that the principal was indeed the leader.

The review of the literature has shown that school organization, curriculum and instructional practices, and climate and culture were three key components that must be addressed in an improvement process. In addition, the review indicated that school leadership, especially actions of the principal in conjunction with the school staff, was the means for impacting these clusters and bringing about change.

Educational Change

The four components reviewed above are drawn together under the heading of educational change. The literature on organizational change in general, and school change, in particular is vast. A review of the literature

revealed that at various times the literature on educational change has addressed changes in curriculum and instruction and in organizational structures and procedures. Four themes from the literature on educational change, however, are helpful in understanding school effectiveness research. These themes are: the locus of the change efforts, planned change, the scope of change, and the nature of the change.

Zaltman, Florio, and Sikorski (1977) pointed out in their book on the Dynamics of Educational Change that schools carry "the double burden of maintaining traditional values while preparing society's young members to deal with a changing world," (p. 3). They stressed that the first burden required schools to address the socialization needs of society and the second burden required schools to solve social problems. Fulfilling this dual role has meant that schools examined in the short run are often perceived not to have changed. There is ample documentation of failed educational change (Berman and McLaughlin, 1974; Warren, 1978; Doyle; 1978; Herriot and Gross, 1979), and the unchanging nature of schools (Deal, 1984; Goodlad, 1983). At the same time, an historical perspective of schooling illustrates how much schools have changed and adapted to changing environmental and social pressures (Meyer, 1987; Tyack, 1967).

Focus of change. The research on effective schools and the effective schools movement that has ensued can be viewed as a response to social pressures for greater equity in the outcomes of schooling. The desegregation and civil rights legislation of the 1950s and 1960s represented an external effort to change schools through altering the student input variable by changing who attended which school. In trying to assess the factors that best explained differences in outcomes, the Coleman Report (1966) focused on a

variety of other input variables as well as the student input variable. Following in the industrial model, the inputs assessed were factors that were measurable in quantitative terms, such as teachers' salaries, size of science labs, number of volumes in the library, per pupil expenditures, years of faculty experience, age of buildings, faculty educational attainments, etc. It was assumed that inequalities in the quantitative measures were responsible for inequalities in outcomes, and if they were altered more equitable outcomes could be achieved. This assumption makes sense based on the prevailing service delivery model of schooling (Seeley, 1981) in which teachers deliver the curriculum to students, some of whom master it and others do not. The primary role of the school in the service delivery model is to sort those who are capable from those who are not.

It is interesting to note that in studies of school effects in third world countries, material inputs have been shown to have significant effects on student outcomes (Fuller, 1987). In other words, material inputs are important especially in communities where general literacy and numeracy is a recent event, where "a school of even modest quality may significantly influence academic achievement" (Fuller, p. 256). Fuller has pointed out that strong social class differences resulting in different parenting practices are more characteristic of highly industrialized countries, and thus, parent background factors are likely to be more significant determinant of school outcomes than are the other material inputs.

For industrialized America, the Coleman Report established that the inputs could not be used to account for the differences in outcome. The primary factor in explaining differences was the family background input factor as measured by socioeconomic status and race. Family background accounted for 15-35 percent of the total variance between schools and 65-85

percent of the variance within schools (Coleman et al., 1966). Three conclusions were drawn by policy makers and practitioners from the Coleman Report in regard to educational change: (a) changing the financial and staffing input variables for schools would not improve educational outcomes, (b) attention needed to be placed on closing the gap in the educational level of students before they entered the school system (thus the creation of Headstart), and (c) efforts needed to be made to overcome educational deficits through compensatory programs once students from low-income or minority groups entered the school system. While the Coleman report raised questions about the significance of changing the traditional inputs to schools, the focus of change remained on the inputs, most notably, student inputs in terms of trying to alter or overcome limiting family background factors.

While still concerned with the equity issues that drove the Coleman study, the effective schools and effective teaching research differed substantially in that the center of attention, and thus the area to focus change efforts, shifted from inputs to the process of schooling. The effective schools research methodology drew attention to what was happening in schools and in classrooms as opposed to inputs (Armor, 1976; Brookover and Lezotte, 1979; Edmonds, 1979; Levine and Stark, 1981). The shift in locus of change was critical because the responsibility and burden for change now resided with teachers and administrators rather than with the parents and outside support agencies that fund Headstart or Chapter I.

Planned Change. The second dimension of change in schools that has considerable significance for effective schools research is planned change. Planned change is the deliberate efforts of leaders and members of organizations to bring about change in a rational, planned, and structured

way. Much of the literature on planned educational change has described implementation of innovations, such as a new reading program, individualized instruction, use of learning centers, or discovery teaching science (Fullan, 1982, Hall and Hor, 1987; Herriott and Gross, 1979). The decades of the 1960s and 1970s were noted for the push to implement innovative programs, many of which were related to technical innovations. The pressures for many of these changes came from the district or outside agencies and not necessarily from the school.

Implementing these innovations proved to be more difficult than anticipated. The impact of the changes were often disappointing to the originators because there was frequently little evidence of widespread use at the classroom level or the changes were very short lived (especially if the initiator left). In order to better understand how to successfully implement innovations, research on planned change has focused on the willingness or resistance of individuals to adopt the innovation (Coch and French, 1948; Cruickshank, 1981; Fuller, 1969; Hall and Hord, 1987; Zander, 1962) and on how a change is institutionalized (Fullan, 1982; Huberman and Miles, 1982; Miles, 1983).

The Concerns Based Adoption Model developed by Hall and Hord (1987) identified seven critical stages of concern that individuals experience in implementing change. These stages are: (a) awareness of but minimal concern or involvement with the change, (b) information gathering about the innovation, (c) personal concerns about the impact of the innovation, (d) concerns about management and implementation, (e) concerns with the outcome and relevance to students, (f) concern with collaborating with others in regard to the innovation, and (g) with improving and refining the implementation. It is only after informational and personal concerns have

been addressed that teachers can shift their attention to how the innovation is impacting students and how the innovation might be improved to increase its impact.

The Concerns Based Adoption Model is significant for two reasons. First, it helped to explain why there is so much resistance and uneven implementation of innovations at the classroom level. Second, it highlighted the critical role of the change agent in helping staff members work through the stages of concern, and it identified the types of assistance that may be needed if successful implementation is to be achieved. Assistance to teachers as the key to successful implementation has also been stressed by others (Crandall, 1983, Huberman and Miles, 1982; Stallings, 1989). Crandall found that teachers commitment to change was enhanced by being involved to some degree in the decisionmaking, from actually trying the innovation, and from seeing results. Stallings has identified four key elements that she felt should serve as the cornerstones of any staff development or assistance plan. Teachers must:

- Learn by doing—try, evaluate, modify, and try again.
- Link prior knowledge to new information.
- Learn by reflecting and solving problems.
- Learn in a supportive environment—share problems and successes (p. 4)

The work of Huberman and Miles on institutionalization has shown that there is a critical link between the training and support provided for staff to assist them in implementation and the institutionalization process. Administrative commitment, pressure, support, and assistance to users were shown to be critical to the institutionalization process. Administrative actions ensured that teachers tried the innovation until they gained mastery and the innovation became a part of daily practice. Institutionalization was

further assured when organizational changes were made that embedded the change into the system by changing job descriptions, procedures, or budgets. Equally important as understanding how innovations are institutionalized, was the identification of factors that undermined institutionalization. These factors were environmental turbulence, career advancement motivation resulting in lack of stability of program leadership or staff, and the vulnerability of the innovation, especially if it was dependent on outside funding or support.

As can be seen from these lists of factors, there are some significant overlaps between the factors that contributed to successful implementation and institutionalization of innovations and those factors that have been identified with high achieving effective schools. This represents significant corroborating evidence to support the importance of characteristics identified as distinguishing effective from less effective schools. Furthermore better understanding the literature on planned educational change is likely to be critical to successful implementation of school effectiveness programs since they are large scale attempts at bringing about planned educational change.

Scope of change. There is a critical difference, however, between implementing an innovation and achieving and sustaining school effectiveness—the scope of the change effort is far broader. During an effective schools process, multiple innovations will be occurring simultaneously. Fullan (1990) has argued that there is a need to systematically focus on institutional development as opposed to staff development, although staff development remains an essential element of institutional development. The model presented in Figure 1.1 represents an effort to depict the full scope of the interactions that must occur in a school improvement effort that positively impacts student learning. School

improvement must be occurring at both the school and classroom level, indicating the complexity of the change process.

There is also evidence (Chrispeels and Pollack, 1990; LaRocque and Coleman, 1987; Murphy, Peterson, and Hallinger, 1986) that district effectiveness enhances school effectiveness which means that school change within the context of systemwide change may need to be occurring simultaneously. This does not necessarily mean that the change must be hierarchic or top down. Purkey and Smith (1983) have pointed out that while "there are a good many places where such an approach might be effective in altering the structure and form of a school so that it at least appears to be 'effective' . . . our sense is that there are few schools in which mandated changes will be enough to encourage the development of a productive school climate and culture" (p. 446). Deal has similarly argued that: "Excellence is never installed or mandated from outside; it evolves and is reinforced over time. It develops from within and is built on history and tradition" (p. 63). Thus, the scope of the change needs to focus on system, organizational, and cultural development within each school as well as at the district level.

Nature of the change. All efforts to implement change have a political dimension because they require an alteration of the status quo. Changes undertaken to implement school effectiveness, however, represent a high order of political change because the change required is fundamental in terms of the distribution of educational outcomes. In fact, school effectiveness is often referred to as a movement as much as it is a body of research.

The effective schools perspective has an important place in educational thinking, but it has been mistakenly identified as a scientific model. We

believe it is really a rhetoric of reform. (Ralph and Fennessey, 1983, p. 693).

In their review of the literature, Purkey and Smith (1983) stressed that one of the strategies needed for implementing an effective schools process was an analysis of the school's political structure, "identifying various interest groups that form the structure (Pfeffer, 1981; see also Miles, 1981)" (p. 446). Since a change in the cultural norms and values of the school will be needed, "a political strategy that builds coalitions of support might be indicated" (p. 446). Coalition building requires leadership and leadership in school change is an intensely political act (Firestone, 1980) involving teamwork, long-range planning, trust, honesty, and subtlety (Davy and Brumblett, 1982) which are political skills. Thus, one dimension of the nature of change to implement an effective school must be regarded as political.

A second dimension of the nature of change is cultural. Rossman, Corbett, and Firestone have argued that:

The definition of effectiveness flows from norms, beliefs, and values concerning the way things ought to be. This connection suggests a different and even more fundamental relationship between culture and effectiveness than previously considered in the literature: culture defines effectiveness. Extreme variation in definitions of effectiveness, then, most likely reflect variation in organizational cultures about what is important and worth striving for, about what is true and good, and about what is sacred. (p. 134)

Based on this insight about the definition of effectiveness, means that the nature of school effectiveness change is also cultural. The rational model of planned change while appealing and valuable in terms of outlining

a cohesive picture of the change elements and processes, will not be sufficient in implementing effective schools unless the political and cultural aspects of change are also addressed. In order to explore more fully the political and cultural dimensions of school effectiveness, the methodology selected for this study was a case study design. The strengths and limits of this approach are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to analyze factors that contributed to achieving and sustaining school effectiveness in elementary schools. The questions that were addressed in this study lent themselves to a case study approach (Merriam, 1988; Yin, 1984). Yin defined a case study as an empirical inquiry that "investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used" (p. 23).

Through a case study design and by using a variety of data sources, both qualitative and quantitative research methods were used to explain why some schools were able to achieve and sustain effectiveness for all students and others were not. As Yin (1984) said, "the case study's unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence—documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations" (p. 20). The use of artifacts and documents such as test scores and other measures of student achievement permitted a quantitative basis for comparing outcomes within and between schools over time.

Results from surveys provided another quantitative measure that when combined with interviews and observations resulted in the *thick description* that is characteristic of qualitative research (McClintock, Brannon, and Maynard-Moody, 1979). Since the surveys can be replicated in other

settings, they also helped to increase the generalizability of the findings of the study. As Merriam pointed out, combining qualitative and quantitative measures is "a form of triangulation that enhances the validity and reliability of one's study" (p. 2).

While some quantitative methods were used in the case study analysis, the study was approached primarily from two normative research perspectives that need to be identified. These were critical theory and the qualitative or naturalistic paradigm. Effective schools research is very much embedded in critical theory, questioning and doubting the current structures and student outcomes of schools as given, natural, and objective (Stanley, 1986). In most schools, the culture, the organization of the school, the curriculum, and instructional practices serve to maintain the social class structure. Schools that have been identified as effective represent *maverick* schools that differed from the norm and as a consequence had different student outcomes. As Stanley has argued:

With critical research, one cannot assume behavior or institutions are functional merely because they exist and appear desirable to many people. One must seek to understand their origins, why they are considered functional and whose interests they serve. . . . Critical research is oriented by a view of social welfare; its purpose is to promote emancipation and social justice. (pp. 87-88)

In other words, the purpose of critical researchers, especially many of those who have been involved in conducting effective schools research, is not just to describe and explain the world, but to use the data to change it.

Critical theory draws heavily on the qualitative research methods such as ethnography, document analysis, and case studies, and falls within the qualitative research paradigm. Firestone (1987) described four key

differences that distinguish the qualitative and quantitative paradigms, and the distinctions are pertinent for this study. First, there are differences in world views. The quantitative view assumes there are "social facts with an objective reality apart from the beliefs of individuals" (p.16). In contrast, Firestone stated, "qualitative research is rooted in a phenomenological paradigm which holds that reality is socially constructed through individual or collective definitions of the situation" (p. 16). The qualitative approach captures the complexity and multiple realities of schools and school districts. In other words, how individuals—principals, teachers, support staff, district administrators, parents, and students—perceive and construct meaning in their school is critical to understanding how schools work.

Second, quantitative and qualitative research also differ in their purposes. Quantitative research relies primarily on objective measures, quantitative analyses and inductive reasoning to interpret social fact and to explain causes and results. Qualitative research, on the other hand, focuses on understanding events, actions, and the social context from the participants' perspectives (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984). By listening to the meaning that actors attach to the phenomenon of schooling and organizational change, it may be possible to more thoroughly identify and understand the factors that contribute to sustained effectiveness. The multiple correlates identified in the school effectiveness research indicate that factors that contribute to desired student outcomes are not easily reduced to objective measures. No single cause-effect relationship has been determined. Rather there is a need to understand the school as a complex organization with multiple realities and mutual causalities that influence school effectiveness.

A third difference identified by Firestone is in the approach or research design. Experimental, quasi-experimental or correlational designs are the primary tools of the quantitative researcher. Participant observation, interviews, and review of documents are the methods used to understand complex social systems that do not lend themselves to manipulation, experimentation, and controlled research design.

Finally, Firestone pointed out that the roles of the researcher differ in the two research paradigms. The positivist researcher tries to remain detached and objective to avoid bias. In qualitative research, the researcher is central to the process. As Merriam (1988) asserted:

Naturalistic inquiry, which focuses on meaning in context, requires a data collection instrument sensitive to underlying meaning when gathering and interpreting data. Humans are best-suited for this task—and best when using methods that make use of human sensibilities such as interviewing, observing, and analyzing. (p. 3)

Thus, a case study methodology, grounded in the naturalistic paradigm and critical theory, enabled a multidimensional approach to be used to investigate the process of change in schools that has led to differential outcomes for students in similar settings.

Research Design

According to Yin's typology (1984), the proposed study represents a multiple, embedded case study design. This design was used to identify factors contributing to achieving and sustaining school effectiveness. The cases chosen for study were the same ones examined in 1987 by Pollack, Chrispeels, and Watson. The cases selected for study did not represent a

random sample. The underlying assumptions for the selection of the cases was that there may be differing results in the eight cases, but, as Yin suggests, for predictable reasons (p. 49). The eight cases allowed a testing of the theoretical framework presented in Figure 1.1 that may explain why some schools were more effective than others and are able to sustain that effectiveness for three years or more. The multiple case study design involved several steps: data collection, data reduction and writing of individual case reports, cross-case data analysis and interpretation, theory modification and the writing of a cross-case summary.

The first step undertaken in this study was data collection which comprised gathering information from four major sources: test data, survey data, interview data and school records. First, test results from the third and sixth grade California Assessment Program from 1983-84 to 1987-88 were collected from the eight elementary schools. Three key pieces of data from each year were reviewed and used as a basis for determining effectiveness: (a) overall achievement gains in reading and mathematics over a four year period, (b) the pattern of distribution of students by quartile over the four years, and (c) test results disaggregated by family profession or occupation.

Second, staff members at each school were asked to complete the 158 item San Diego County Effective School Survey. Third, the principal and five staff members who were interviewed in the 1986-87 study were reinterviewed. Fourth, documents and archival records, such as the school improvement plan, Program Quality Review documents, demographic data, and records of staff inservice were reviewed.

The second step in the research design was to analyze the data gathered in each case study and to write a case report. Comparisons were made with the test, survey, and interview data collected in 1987, and particular attention

was paid to the factors that changed or remained constant in the intervening two years.

The critical third step in this research design was to interpret the data from the cross-case analysis in terms of its support for or refutation of the theoretical framework. The 1987 study (Pollack, Chrispeels and Watson) surfaced a number of key factors that seem to account for the differentials in student outcomes. The critical questions were: (a) Did these same factors still explain the differences among schools? and (b) Did these factors help to explain a school's ability to maintain effectiveness for three years or more?

The fourth step was to prepare the cross-case summary, conclusions, and recommendations based on what was learned from each case report.

Participant and Site Selection

In the spring of 1986, fifty schools, which had administered the San Diego County Effective Schools Survey as part of their school improvement data collection process, were mailed a questionnaire asking the principal to indicate the level of implementation activities as a result of the effective schools data. Approximately 25 of the 50 schools returned the questionnaire. In the fall of 1986, ten elementary schools were selected from the 25 for an in depth study by the Effective Schools Unit of the San Diego County Office of Education. These schools were chosen in a nonrandom selection process, as is frequently done in a case study design (Merriam, 1988; Yin, 1984). The principal or staff member returning the survey had indicated that they had undertaken a number of improvement efforts. The ten schools were selected to represent the broad cross-section of San Diego County schools in size, geographic distribution, and ethnic composition of the student population. The schools, in other words, represented typical

schools as opposed to outliers. The selection of outliers for study has been one of the criticism of the effective schools research (Purkey and Smith, 1983). For the current study, eight of the ten elementary schools served as the sample for the study. Two schools in the same district were dropped because in was the last month of school and the principals did not want to ask the staff to complete the surveys so late in the school year.

In 1986-87, the principal and nine staff members selected by the principal were interviewed. The principal was asked to select teachers who represented the following groups: (a) one or two who had been actively involved in the improvement process either on the school site council or on a special school effectiveness planning committee, (b) teachers that represented the different grade levels in the schools, (c) a teacher who worked with special programs such as a reading specialist, bilingual coordinator, or Chapter I resource teacher, (d) a teacher that had been at the school for a long time, (e) a teacher who was new to the school. These categories were not mutually exclusive; often one teacher represented several categories. In all cases the principal followed these guidelines and a diverse cross-section of the staff was interviewed.

For this study, the principal and five teachers were selected to be interviewed. The teachers to be interviewed were drawn from the pool of teachers previously interviewed with care being taken to maintain a representative sample. In this way it was possible to explore how the school had changed or remained the same in the intervening two years. The number of teachers interviewed was reduced because the researchers concluded from the previous study that five interviews proved to be sufficient to identify common themes and present a picture of the school's climate and culture. The interviews lasted approximately one hour. All staff members

interviewed were asked to sign a consent form before being interviewed and none refused. The interviews were tape recorded if the person agreed to be taped. Five teachers declined to be taped and their wishes were honored. Notes were also taken at each interview. The taped interviews were later transcribed. Views of the school staff who completed the survey and who were interviewed were protected by maintaining anonymity. No individual teacher or school was identified in the study. Pseudonyms were assigned to each school. The school staff at each of the schools had previously completed the surveys and had been interviewed; they expressed no reluctance to participate in the study once assured that their anonymity would be protected.

Instrumentation and Data Gathering Techniques

Test data, survey results, interview notes, and archival records served as the data base for the study. As previously mentioned, test data from the California Assessment Program (CAP) from 1983-84 to 1987-88 were collected. CAP is a norm-referenced test given to third, sixth, eighth, and twelfth graders in all California schools. The scaled scores allowed cross-school comparisons. In addition, the schools are rated according to a socioeconomic index based on parent education levels, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and language proficiency which allows further comparisons among schools and provides a way to take into account background factors. The California Assessment Program is also unique among state tests in providing disaggregated test data according to family occupation at the elementary level. This subgroup analysis provided the researcher with an easily accessible and important measure of school effectiveness. Using the CAP data, the effectiveness of each school was

determined. For purposes of this study the following criteria were used to assess effectiveness at both third and sixth grade.

1. A growth of 25 scaled score points in reading and mathematics over four years, or scaled scores that are maintained above comparison bands.

2. A decrease in the number of students scoring in the bottom quartile in reading and mathematics of 10 percentage points over four years, or the number of students scoring below Q1 remains at 15% or less.

3. An increase of 25 scaled score points over four years in the achievement of the lowest SES subgroup in reading and mathematics, or achievement above the state average in reading and mathematics for the lowest SES group.

Survey data were collected by asking teachers and administrators at each site to complete the San Diego Effective Schools Survey (Appendix A). This instrument, using a Likert scale, assess opinions of staff in seven key areas: instructional leadership (IL), home-school relations (HSR), clear school mission (CSM), frequent monitoring (FM), opportunity to learn (OL), safe and orderly environment (SOE), and high expectations (HE). A total mean score and total percent agreement for each correlate were computed as well as mean and percent agreement for each item within the the correlate cluster.

The overall reliability of this instrument is very high ($\text{Alpha} = 0.977$), and the factor loading between the subsets is very strong, approximately 90% of variance was accounted for through the extraction of a principal component—based on a factor subprogram of SPSSX, Inc., 1986 (Watson, Chrispeels, Pollack, 1987).

The validity of the instrument has recently been tested in a study that compared results of the survey with three year gains in third grade reading

scores. Using the survey results, 27 schools were grouped with 93% accuracy according to three year reading achievement gains. Thus, the instrument seems to be a valid predictor of increases in achievement in third grade reading scores.

Interviews were conducted with the principal and five teachers at each school. The five teachers to be interviewed were drawn from the pool of nine teachers who were interviewed in the 1986 study. The purpose of the interviews was to probe and explore more fully than allowed by the surveys those factors that may help to explain the differences in outcomes among the ten schools. The interview protocol (Appendix B) was based on the interview questions asked in the earlier study. The interview data provided a rich comparative data base to analyze how the eight schools had changed during the last four years.

Other archival records and documents that were collected provided a description and portraiture of the case study schools. School Improvement Plans and Program Quality Review reports prepared as part of the California School Improvement Program were read and analyzed for each site. The findings of the Program Quality Review team were compared with the data collected through interviews and surveys. This provided an independent source of data and description of school programs, strengths, and weaknesses.

Data Analysis

In discussing case study data analysis, it is important to note that data collection and data analysis to a large extent occurred simultaneously. As each piece of information was collected it was used as a basis for refining and guiding further data collection. Test data were analyzed according to

the criteria of effectiveness presented above, and each school was given an effectiveness score at both third and sixth grade.

The survey results from each year the survey was completed by the staff were compared and analyzed for changes. A cluster analysis was done using the 1989 survey results from each school. The purpose of the cluster analysis was to see if there were significant differences between mean scores for each correlate that related to the effectiveness of the school.

The transcriptions of the interviews were analyzed in two ways: First, the results of the interviews were compared with the survey results using each of the seven school effectiveness correlates measured on the survey. Similarities and differences in perceptions were noted. Second, the interviews were analyzed using the four major components presented in Figure 1.1. Yin stated that a proposition or theoretical framework helps "to organize the entire case study and to define alternative explanations to be examined. Theoretical propositions about causal relations—answers to 'how' and 'why' questions—can be very useful in guiding case study analysis in this manner" (p. 101). According to Guba and Lincoln (1981), the art of devising categories involves both convergent and divergent thinking. There is a need to determine what pieces of information fit together to form a homogeneous category. In addition the "differences among categories ought to be bold and clear" (p. 93). Once the categories have been established, there is a need to flesh them out.

The drawback of this approach was that the predetermined categories may have unduly biased the sorting of the data. As Glaser and Strauss (1967) pointed out: "Merely selecting data for a category that has been established by another theory tends to hinder the generation of new categories, because the major effort is not generation, but data selection.

Also, emergent categories usually prove to be the most relevant and best fitted to the data" (p. 37).

While bias cannot be completely eliminated, Guba and Lincoln (1981) have offered seven guidelines to help mitigate against bias. To aid in sorting and analyzing interview data into categories, their guidelines were followed in this study.

1. Include any information that is germane to the area and not excluded by boundary-setting rules.

2. Include any information that relates or bridges several already existing information items.

3. Include any information that identifies new elements or brings them to the surface.

4. Add any information that reinforces existing information but reject it if the reinforcement is merely redundant.

5. Add new information that tends to explain other information already known.

6. Add any information that exemplifies either the nature of the category or important evidence within the category.

7. Add any information that tends to refute or challenge already known information. (pp. 99-100).

Once the interviews were categorized for each school, the interview data were compared with the staff survey responses and student outcome measures. A case report was prepared for each site which included a four year trend of CAP test results as well as demographic data. Four in depth case studies were written for schools that were identified as lying at the ends of the effectiveness-ineffectiveness continuum for this sample. These case studies are presented in Chapter Five. After completing this task, a cross-

case analysis was undertaken in an effort to expand and refine existing theory about educational change and its impact on student achievement. The intent was to build a general explanation that fits the individual cases and links the cases to each other to create a whole (Yin, 1984).

Limits of the Study

There are four major limitations to this case study. First, the small sample size, the geographic confines of the study, the limited number of interviews conducted, the lack of match among schools in terms of size, socioeconomic status and ethnic composition, and the limitation of the study to elementary schools restricts the ability to generalize the findings of this study, especially to other parts of the country or to other levels of schooling.

Second, the use of aggregated standardized achievement test results as the primary measure of effectiveness greatly limits the potential for making inferences about cause and effect relationships among leadership efforts, programmatic or institutional change, and student outcomes. As Guba and Lincoln (1981) have pointed out, there is the danger of oversimplifying or exaggerating the situation, "leading the reader to erroneous conclusions about the actual state of affairs" (p. 377). To avoid this danger, the analysis has focused on offering insights into relationships rather than asserting cause and effect links between variables.

A third limit of the study stemmed from the nature of case study methodology which allows the researcher to make only analytical, rather than statistical, generalizations by linking particular events to a broader theory (Yin, 1984). If the case studies had been drawn from a larger sample size, it would have been possible to make statistical generalization that might have corroborated the case study findings.

A fourth limitation arose from the nature of qualitative research which presents significant problems in maintaining reliability and validity because it depends heavily on the interviewing, observational and interpretive skills of the researcher. Using multiple sources of evidence, establishing a chain of evidence, and having key informants review the analysis helped to enhance the construct validity of the study (Yin, 1984). Comparisons of data from this case study with results from other similar studies were also used to provide a check on reliability and validity of conclusions. The opportunity to explore issues in depth and to examine substantive aspects of organizational change do not overcome the limitations, but they do counterbalance them. The next three chapters attempt to make sense of the wealth of data that were collected for this study and to present it in a way that will increase understanding of the complex nature of change and organizational development of schools that are working to increase student achievement.

CHAPTER FOUR

CROSS CASE DATA ANALYSIS

Launching of the Effective Schools Process

In 1982-83, the San Diego County Office of Education became interested in the research on effective schools. The Midcontinent Regional Educational Laboratory and the Connecticut State Department of Education were contacted to secure information about their effective schools programs. After reviewing the effective schools surveys developed by each group, it was decided to base the San Diego Effective School Program on the model developed by the Connecticut State Department of Education.

The first schools which became involved in the process were served by principals who volunteered their schools and who shared an early interest in the effective schools research. In 1983 and 1984, only a few schools assessed their staffs using the Connecticut Questionnaire. By June 1987, over a hundred schools in the county had used either the Connecticut or the new San Diego County effective schools surveys to gain insights into staff and parent opinions regarding the effective schools correlates. Schools were not charged for the service and participation remained voluntary. The amount of follow-up with schools using the surveys varied considerably depending on the commitment and interest of the principal and the skills and involvement of the county staff member assigned to the school. No new county staff members were hired to specifically direct the effective schools

program and many staff members had curriculum specialties that occupied most of their time.

The eight schools involved in this study represent a non-random sample of schools that participated in the effective schools assessment and planning process. The schools entered the program at varying times with one beginning as early as 1983 and another not administering the surveys until 1986. All schools through the actions of their principals or a combination of principal and staff consensus, volunteered to participate in the effective schools process. Between 1983 and 1986, the staff at each school completed the effective schools survey (either the Connecticut or the San Diego version). The survey results were reported to the staff by a staff member from the county office of education and the data were used by the staff to plan improvement strategies. Not all of the schools received equal assistance and support in the planning and implementing stages. Three of the schools received considerable assistance in terms of interpreting the data, assisting in planning, and organizing follow-up activities, such as staff development. Three schools received moderate amounts, and two schools received little assistance other than the initial assessment and report back to staff. The two schools that received minimal assistance had some extenuating circumstances that help to explain the lack of follow-up. In the case of Lassen, the assistant superintendent for curriculum and instruction of the district had been a member of the county office of education's effective schools team and was well versed in the effective schools process. He provided considerable assistance to all the schools in the district by establishing grade level objectives and expectancies, developing new systems to test and monitor pupil progress, and aligning the district's curriculum. The staff at Tahoe, the second school receiving minimal

assistance, did not volunteer to participate and felt pressured into the process by the principal. There was considerable conflict between the staff and principal during his two year tenure and little opportunity for involvement. A new principal was assigned to the school in 1986.

All eight schools voluntarily agreed to have a sample of their staff members interviewed in the late fall and early winter of 1986-87 as part of a follow-up study being conducted by the author and two other county office staff members. Six of the eight schools readministered the effective schools surveys. Two schools did not because they had already completed the survey twice prior to 1987. In 1989, again, all eight school agreed to assist the author in participating in the current study by completing the effective schools surveys and by allowing a sample of staff members to be reinterviewed. Table 4.1 lists the eight schools by pseudonyms they have been given for purposes of this study, shows the years each school completed the effective schools surveys, and the degree of assistance received in the initial stages of the effective schools process.

All eight schools have been involved in the California School Improvement Program. This means that the schools received additional state funds, were required to establish a school site council, and to develop a school improvement plan that was updated each year and rewritten every three years. In most instances, the effective schools survey data were used as documentation to support specific school improvement plan activities. Once specific needs were identified, school improvement funds provided a means for the schools to address identified needs such as training in Teacher Expectations and Student Achievement (TESA), a program designed to raise teacher expectations for students and increase learning.

Table 4.1

Comparison of Time of Entry into the Effective Schools Program and Levels of Planning and Implementation Assistance Received from the County Office of Education

<u>School</u>	<u>1st Survey</u>	<u>2nd Survey</u>	<u>3rd Survey</u>	<u>Level of Assistance</u>
Whitney	1/86	3/87	1/89	High
Yosemite	10/83	10/85	5/89	High
Pinyon	2/85	4/87	5/89	Moderate
Lassen	1/85	2/87	4/89	Minimal
Sequoia	3/85	2/87	5/89	Moderate
Shasta	3/85	3/87	6/89	Moderate
Sierra	1/85	2/87	3/89	High
Tahoe	4/85	3/86	5/89	Minimal

In all schools, most of school improvement funds were allocated for instructional aides rather than for staff development or other improvement strategies. As a result of the effective schools surveys, one school changed its budget and allocated a significant proportion of their funds to establish reading and math labs that were staffed by certificated teachers as a means of better meeting the needs of the school's low-achieving students.

Demographic Profiles

The schools in this study reflected the diversity in the county in terms of size, grade configuration, and other demographic variables. On the one

hand, the diversity of the sample was a confounding factor in the study and made it difficult to generalize the findings. On the other hand, the diversity addressed one of the criticisms of the effective schools research that only urban schools with either very high or low achievement have been studied (Purkey and Smith, 1983).

Six of the eight schools served students in kindergarten through sixth grade. Two schools recently (1987-88) became kindergarten through fifth grade schools with the sixth graders attending nearby middle schools. All of the schools have had to cope with enrollment growth. The move to the middle school was in response to enrollment growth. Establishing year-round, multiple track schools was another response. During the last five years that the schools have been involved in improvement efforts, Yosemite, Sequoia, and Pinyon have implemented multiple track year-round programs. In 1986-87 Sequoia returned to a single track as did Pinyon in 1988-89. Both have remained year-round. In addition to its multiple track, Pinyon had a second school on its campus for one year while a new school was being built. Based on interview comments and analysis of test data, all of the shifts have impacted the instructional program and the achievement of students. Dips in the California Assessment Program results for Sequoia, Yosemite, and Pinyon can be seen in each school the year when a four track year-round schedule was implemented. The case study of Yosemite in Chapter Five explores the issue in more depth.

Table 4.2. summarizes the information on size of enrollment, grade configuration, socioeconomic index, and school year schedule.

Table 4.2

Comparison of School Enrollments, Grade Configuration, SES, and School Year Schedules

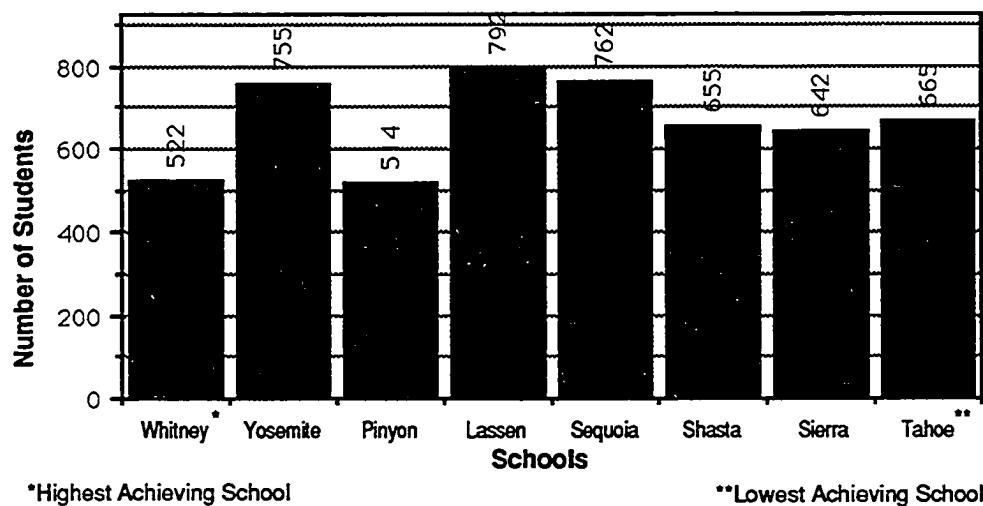
Schools	Enrollment	Grade	SES Index	School Year Schedule
Whitney	522	K-5	2.02	Traditional
Yosemite	755	K-6	3.38	4 Track Year-round
Pinyon	514	K-6	2.07	Modified Year-round
Lassen	792	K-5	1.60	Traditional
Sequoia	762	K-6	1.62	1 Track Year Round
Shasta	655	K-6	1.82	1 Track Year-round
Sierra	642	K-6	1.89	1 Track Year-round
Tahoe	665	K-6	1.46	Traditional

Figure 4.1 graphically presents each school's enrollment for 1988-89. The schools are arranged on the graph in approximate order of their overall level of student achievement as measured at third grade by the California Assessment Program (CAP). The school with the highest third grade achievement (Whitney) is on the left and the school with the lowest achievement (Tahoe) is on the right. (Achievement results are discussed in detail in Achievement Profiles section below). As can be seen from the graph, the two schools with the lowest enrollment (under 525) are at the top end in terms of overall achievement. Three other schools with over 750 students, however, are also at the higher achievement end. Thus, size will not prevent a school from becoming effective. All three schools with enrollments over 750 have an assistant principal. This is not true for the

schools with enrollments in the six hundreds. Without further study it is not possible to determine whether the presence of an assistant principal in schools with enrollments over 700 represents a significant difference to improvement efforts compared to the schools with enrollments between 600 and 700 but without an assistant.

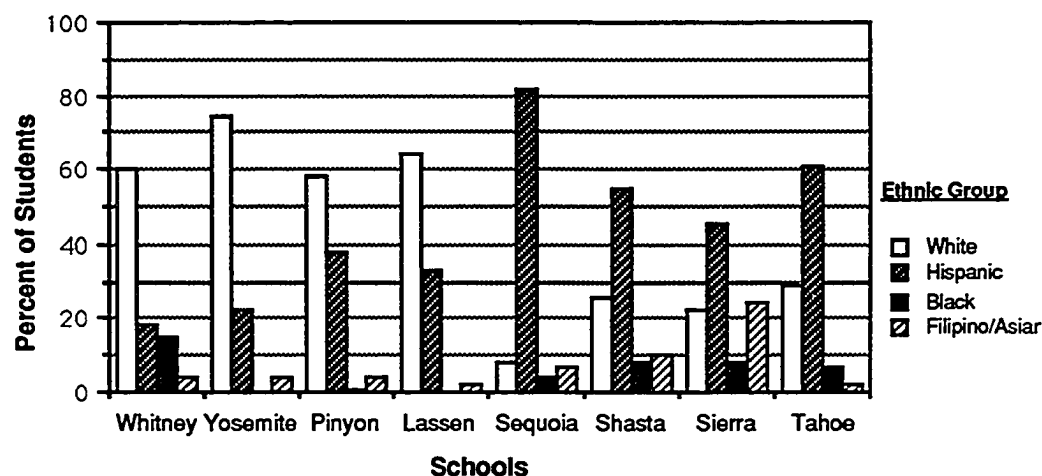
Figure 4.1

Comparison of Student Enrollments in Relation to Overall Student Achievement



The schools also differed in the ethnic and racial composition of their student bodies. Figure 4.2 shows the ethnic distribution in each school as recorded on reports submitted to the state in the fall. Again the diversity reflected the diversity in the county. The data in Figure 4.2 show that student achievement is higher at the four schools with the largest White, non-Hispanic populations.

Figure 4.2

Comparison of Schools in Terms of Ethnic Distribution of Students

Socioeconomic data. The index of socioeconomic status (SES) for each school was computed by the state of California based on the occupations of the parents of students in either the third or sixth grade. Teachers using a list of occupations, categorized parents into one of five groups. On the basis of this classification, an SES value of one, two or three was assigned and an SES index computed. Table 4.3 presents the SES values assigned each occupational group.

Table 4.3

Parent Occupations and the Corresponding SES Value

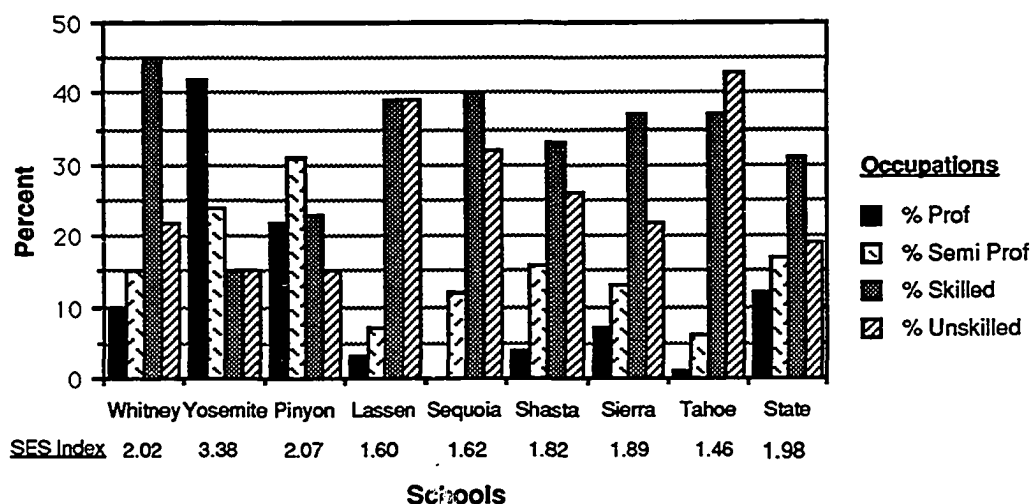
<u>SES Value</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
1	Unknown
1	Unskilled
2	Skilled and semiskilled employees
3	Semi professional, clerical, sales workers, and technicians
3	Executives, professionals, and managers

The SES index is the average (mean) of these values for all third or sixth grade students in the school. A high value indicates the school serves a community with a large percentage of people engaged in professional and semiprofessional occupations.

Figure 4.3 presents the percentage of students in each parent occupational category. The unknown category is not shown since it was less than 4% in all schools. The distribution of parent occupations in Figure 4.3 with each school's SES index shows that there is a general correlation between the index, the percent of students from each parent occupation category, and overall student achievement. The relationship, however, is not a one to one correspondence. In other words, Whitney, Yosemite, and Pinyon had the highest SES indices and the highest overall achievement. Lassen and Sequoia, however, had lower SES indices compared to Shasta and Sierra, and yet out-performed them on the California Assessment Program. As will be shown below, when test scores are disaggregated, the results for the lowest income students in Yosemite and Pinyon were not as strong as for Lassen, Sequoia and Shasta which had lower SES indices.

Figure 4.3

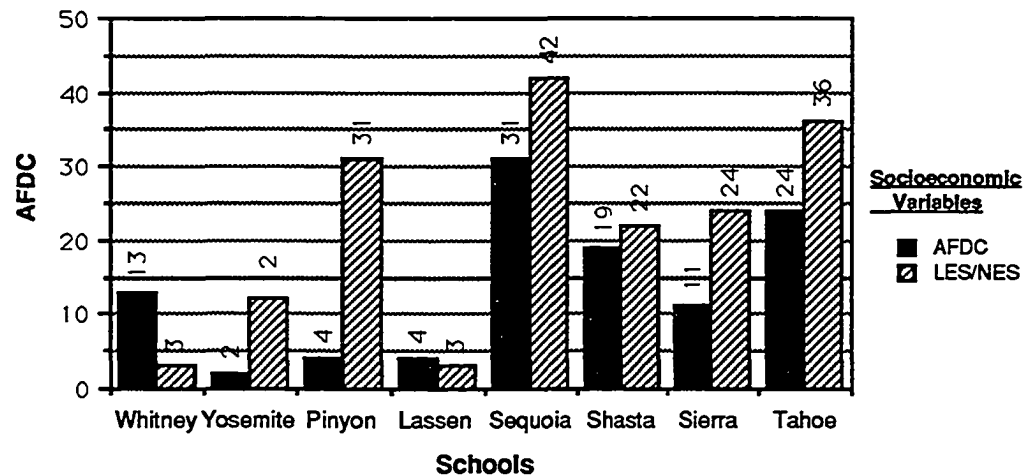
Distribution of Students by Parent Occupation and Comparison with Statewide Averages Based on Third Grade CAP Data in 1988



In addition to SES, another economic and demographic variable affecting the schools was the percent of students receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children and the percent who were classified as limited or non-English speaking at third grade. Figure 4.4 presents this data. Again there was variability among the eight schools. Except for Pinyon, the four schools with the highest overall achievement had fewer limited and non-English speaking students. Except for Whitney, three of the four top performing schools had very low percentages of students receiving AFDC.

Figure 4.4

Comparison of Percent of AFDC and Limited or Non-English Speaking (LES/NES) Students at Each School Based on 1987-88 Third Grade CAP Data



Each of the graphs presenting the demographic profiles helps to illustrate that family background variables are an important contributor to a school's overall student achievement. Significantly, the graphs also illustrate that there is not a one to one correspondence between home background or ethnicity and student achievement; therefore, other school factors need to be identified to explain the differences in student achievement. The following points summarize the socioeconomic data for the eight schools and their relationship to student achievement:

- Size of student population did not prevent a school from becoming effective; however, schools with student populations between 600 and 700 and without an assistant principal all had lower levels of achievement.
- Schools serving a higher socioeconomic student populations had higher overall achievement, but there was not a one-to-one correlation

between SES and achievement, pointing to the significance of other school factors.

- Schools with fewer non-English speaking students had higher overall achievement levels, but not necessarily higher achievement for the school's limited and non-English speaking subgroups as will be shown in the next section.

- Demographic changes, such as rapid growth in student population or shifts in the ethnic composition of student populations required new grade configurations or implementation of multiple track year-round school schedules.

The demographic data presented in the graphs raise several critical questions. Why was Whitney able to achieve both excellence and equity even though it was not serving the most affluent population? Why were Lassen and Sequoia, schools that served large disadvantaged populations, able to achieve good results with their students, while Sierra, Shasta, and Tahoe, with similar populations, have been less successful? In addition to its low-income and largely LES/NES student population, what school factors seemed to contribute to Tahoe's poor achievement profile?

Achievement Profiles

While standardized tests have been criticized as too narrow a measure of student achievement (Rowan et al., 1983), their value is that they allow comparisons among schools. In this study, the California Assessment Program (CAP) was used as the means of comparing and measuring overall student achievement at third and sixth grade. In addition, the results from the CAP test were disaggregated by parent occupation levels providing a means to assess effectiveness and equity issues across all groups of students.

A five year analysis of test scores provided the data needed to answer the first research question posed for this study: What impact has the school improvement process had on student achievement? The trend analysis allows both an assessment of the degree of effectiveness attained by the schools as well as a comparison among schools in terms of overall achievement in reading and mathematics at third and sixth grade.

As presented in the definition of an effective school in Chapter One, three criteria were used for describing each school's degree of effectiveness. The criteria are:

1. A growth of 25 scaled score points in reading and mathematics over four years, or scaled scores that are maintained above the CAP comparison band as indicated on the California Assessment Program (CAP).
2. A decrease in the number of students scoring in the bottom quartile in reading and mathematics by 10 percentage points over four years, or the number students scoring below Q1 remains at 15% or less.
3. An increase of 25 scaled score points over four years in the achievement of the lowest SES subgroup in reading and mathematics, or achievement levels of the lowest SES subgroup that are above the statewide average in reading and mathematics

Each criterion could be met in one of two ways: either by demonstrating change in the desired direction (i.e., higher achievement or fewer students scoring below Q1) or by maintaining a high level of achievement. Allowing schools to meet the criteria of effectiveness in two different ways recognizes that a high growth rate and a high level of performance are often mutually exclusive. Maintaining a high level of performance also requires continuous effort.

For the first criterion of effectiveness, a growth of 25 scaled score points in reading and mathematics over four years was selected because it represented a realistic growth rate of 10% and indicated a one-half standard deviation gain in achievement. Prior to 1988, the California Assessment Program School Report indicated whether or not the school was scoring above its comparison band (i.e., scoring above what would be expected when the socioeconomic status of the students were taken into account). Scoring above band was the achievement level by which schools could also meet the first criterion.

For the second criterion, a 10% decrease over four years in the percentage of students scoring in the bottom quartile was set as the degree of desired change. Again this number represents a reasonable, yet significant improvement. A school with 15% or fewer students scoring below Q1 was considered to have attained a high level of achievement.

An important dimension of effectiveness is achievement gains of students from the lowest SES group. Therefore, the third criterion of effectiveness focused on this subgroup. A gain of 25 scaled score points over four years in both reading and mathematics was set as the standard. An increase of 25 points would not necessarily bring the lowest SES group to full equity with higher SES groups, but it would show movement in the direction of equity, especially when coupled with the second criterion. To meet the criterion by level of achievement, this subgroup had to be at or above the state average for all students in reading and mathematics.

Using data collected from the California Assessment Program, the eight schools were rated on these criteria and an effectiveness index computed. Figures 4.5 through 4.16 present the data that was used to assess each school's progress toward achieving school effectiveness. The following

analysis shows how the criteria were applied to one school to assess its degree of effectiveness.

Figure 4.5

Five Year Trend in Third Grade CAP Reading Scores

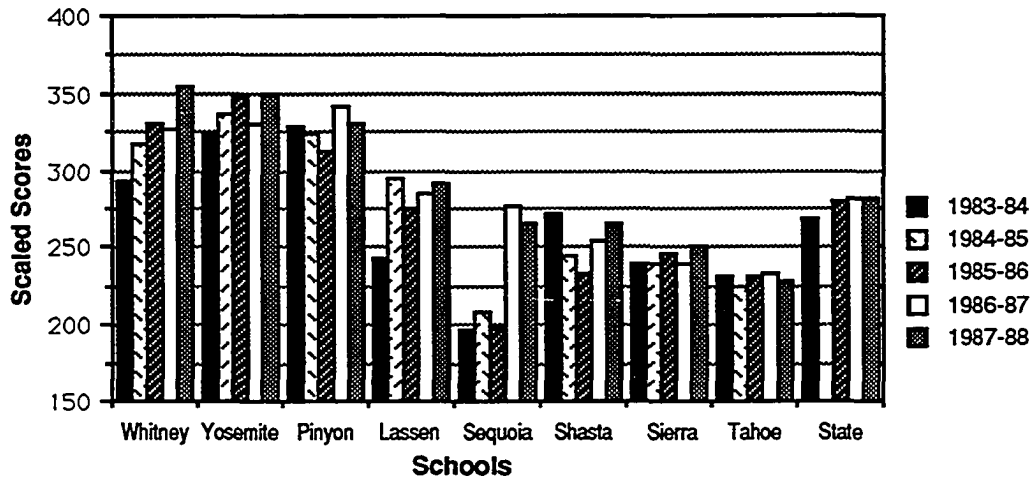


Figure 4.6

Five Year Trend in Third Grade CAP Mathematics Scores

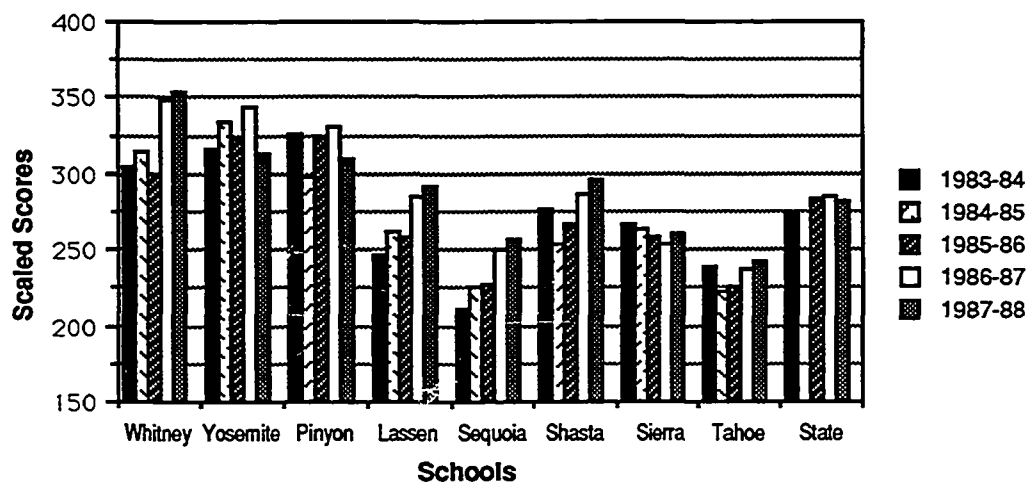


Figure 4.7

Five Year Trend in Sixth Grade CAP Reading Scores

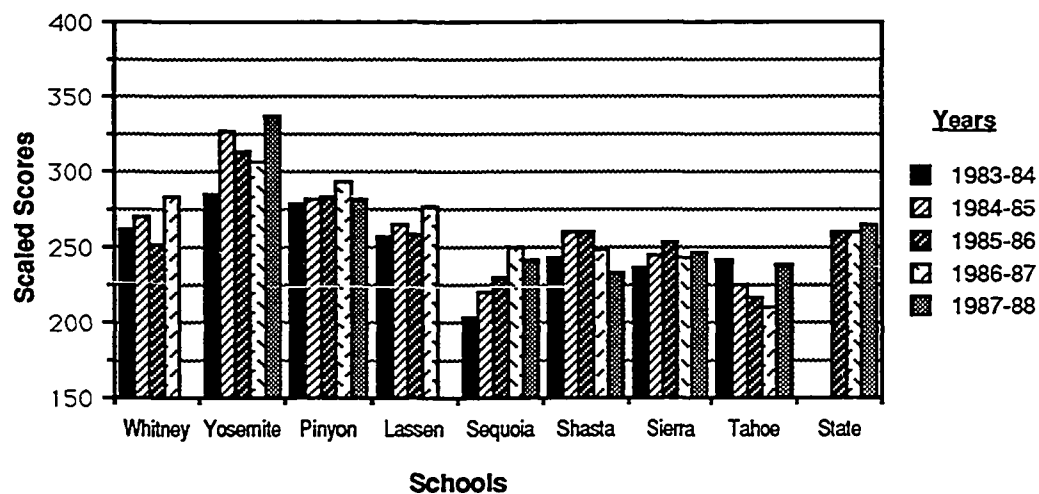


Figure 4.8

Five Year Trend in Sixth Grade CAP Mathematics Scores

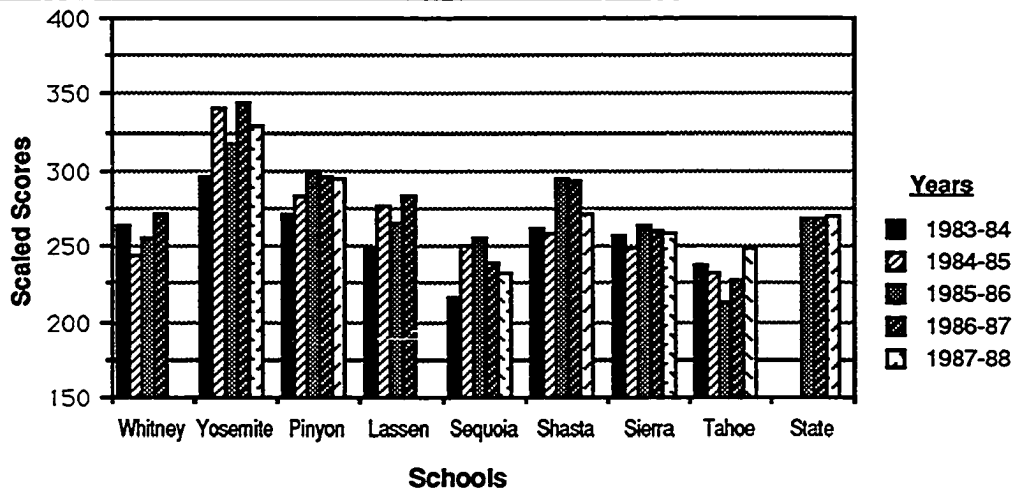


Figure 4.9

Five Year Trend in the Number of Third Grade Students Scoring Below Q1 on the CAP Reading Test

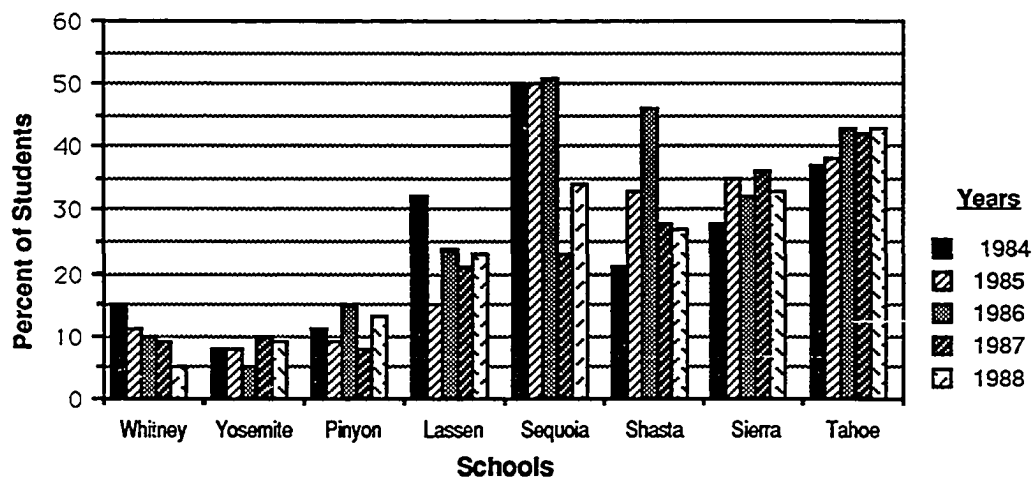


Figure 4.10

Five Year Trend in Number of Third Grade Students Scoring Below Q1 on the CAP Mathematics Test

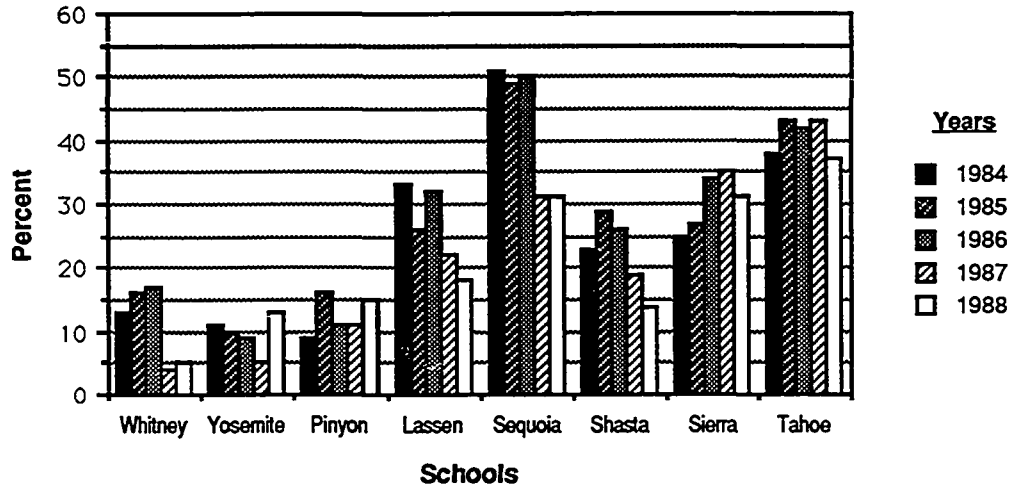


Figure 4.11

Five Year Trend in Number of Sixth Grade Students Scoring Below Q1 on the CAP Reading Test

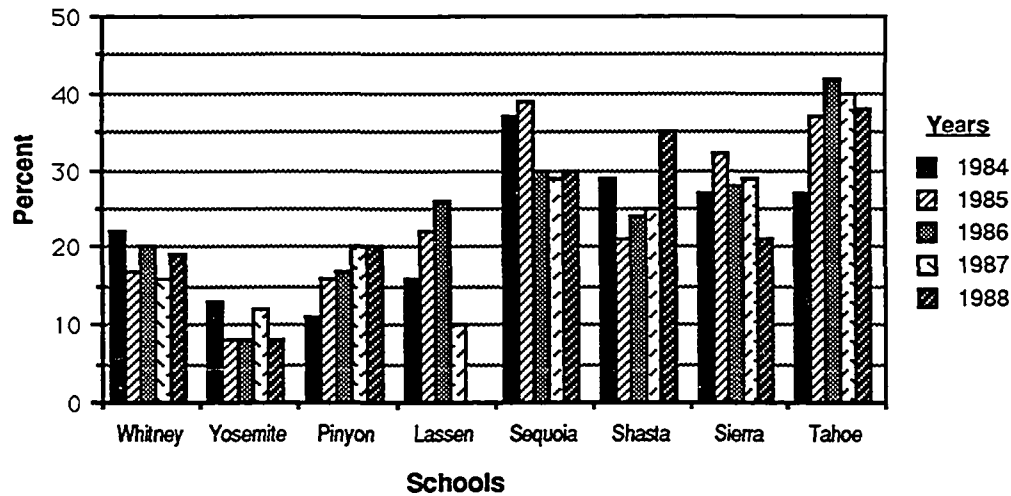


Figure 4.12

Five Year Trend in Number of Sixth Grade Students Scoring Below Q1 on the CAP Mathematics Test

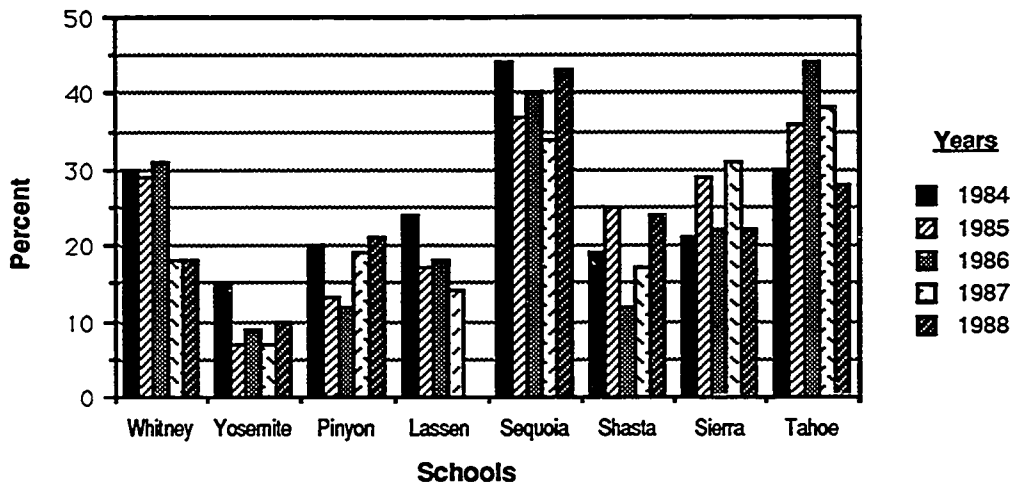


Figure 4.13

Five Year Trend in Third Grade CAP Reading Scores for Lowest SES Subgroup and Comparison of this Group with Average Statewide Score in 1988

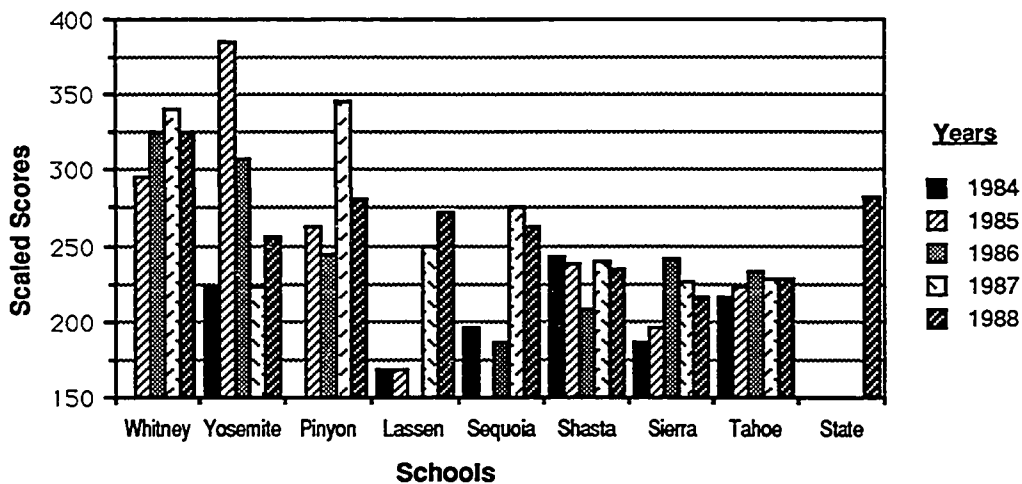


Figure 4.14

Five Year Trend in Third Grade CAP Mathematics Scores for Lowest SES Subgroup and Comparison of this Group with Average Statewide Score in 1988

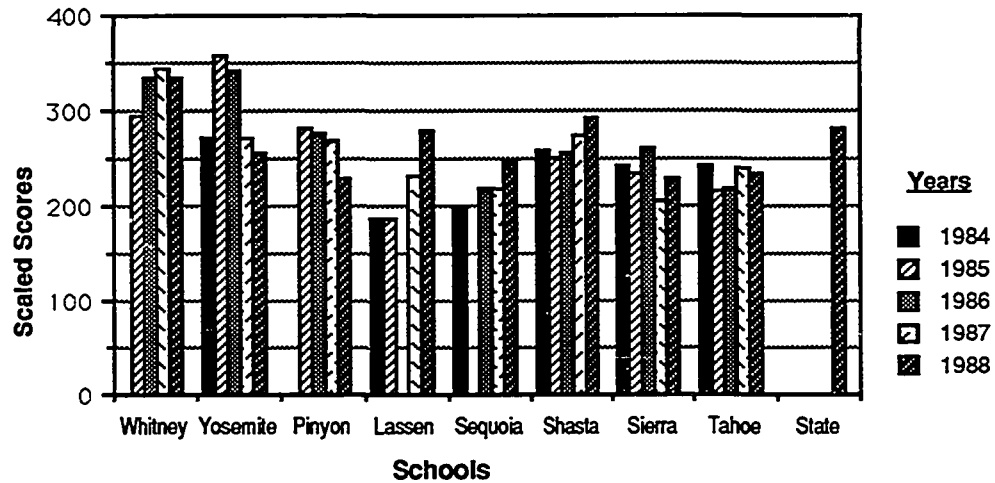


Figure 4.15

Five Year Trend in Sixth Grade CAP Reading Scores for Lowest SES Subgroup and Comparison of this Group with Average Statewide Score in 1988

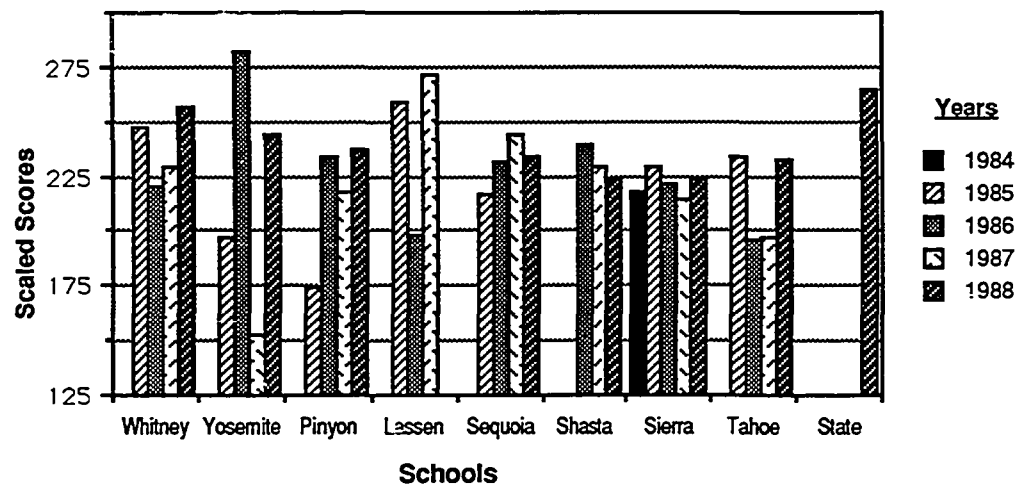
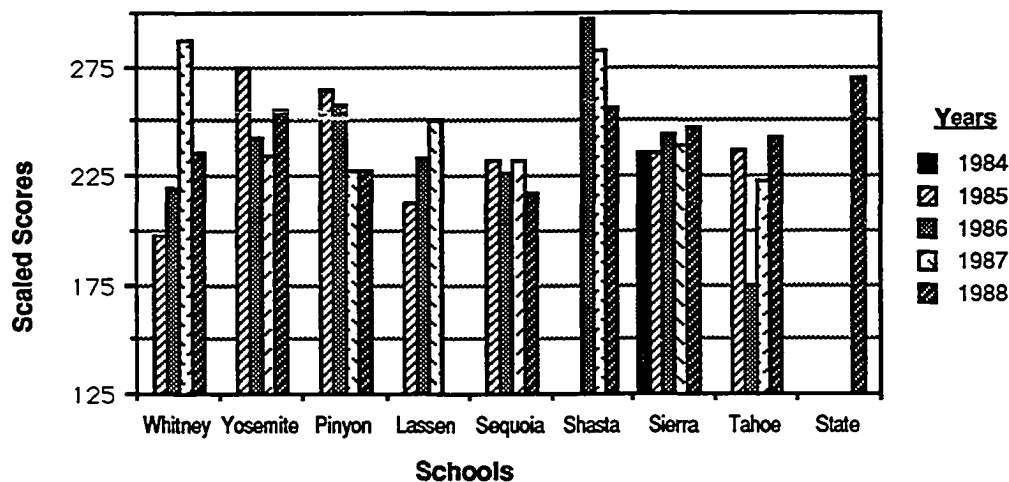


Figure 4.16

Five Year Trend in Sixth Grade CAP Mathematics Scores for Lowest SES Subgroup and Comparison of this Group with Average Statewide Score in 1988



Assessing Whitney's Effectiveness. Based on the data presented in Figures 4.5 and 4.6, Whitney has met the first criterion of effectiveness at third grade. There has been a gain of over 25 points in both reading and mathematics. In addition, the level of scaled scores placed Whitney above the third grade comparison band. At sixth grade, figures 4.7 and 4.8 show there has been growth in both reading and mathematics, but the gains are below 25 scaled score points. Only in reading did the school meet the alternate criterion of being above the comparison band. In terms of the second criterion of effectiveness—decreases in the number of students scoring below Q1—Whitney again was highly successful at third grade, but not at sixth. Figures 4.9 and 4.10 show that at third grade there has been a ten point decrease in the percentage of students scoring below Q1 in reading and mathematics. Also the percent of students in the bottom quartile was

well below 15% in 1986-87 and 1987-88. Figures 4.11 and 4.12 show that there has been over a 10 point decrease in the percentage of sixth grade students scoring below Q1 in reading, but not in mathematics. In neither reading nor mathematics is the percentage of sixth grade students in the bottom quartile below 15%.

The third criterion of effectiveness is the achievement gains of the lowest SES subgroup. Figures 4.13 and 4.14 show that students whose parent occupation is unskilled or unemployed made an achievement gain of 25 or more scaled score points over the four year period. In addition, the level of achievement for these students was above the statewide average score in third grade reading and mathematics. Figure 4.15 and 4.16 show that similar to the other criteria, the sixth grade did not meet either part of this criterion in reading. In mathematics, the lowest SES group gained over 25 points in achievement.

To summarize the data and establish a school effectiveness score, a value of one was assigned to each criterion and its alternate if the criterion was met, and a value of zero when the criteria were not met. For each grade level a maximum of six points could be achieved. Whitney received a score of six out of six for its third grade performance and three out of six for its sixth grade performance. Based on this scale, Whitney's improvement efforts have resulted in a high level of effectiveness for third grade students and a lesser degree of effectiveness at sixth grade. In a similar manner, the data were analyzed for each school and evaluated against the three criteria. The effectiveness scores derived from this analysis are presented in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4

Comparison of Each Schools' Effectiveness Score at Third and Sixth Grade

School	Grade Level	
	3rd	6th
Whitney	6/6	3/6
Yosemite	6/6	5/6
Pinyon	5/6	3/6
Lassen	6/6	4/6
Sequoia	6/6	2/6
Shasta	3/6	1/6
Sierra	0/0	0/0
Tahoe	0/0	0/0

Based on the degree to which the criteria were met, Yosemite and Lassen can be seen to have achieved a relatively high degree of effectiveness for both grade levels. Whitney, on the other hand, has a higher degree of effectiveness at third than at sixth. Like Whitney, Pinyon and Sequoia have met the criteria for effectiveness at third grade, but did not meet all the criteria for sixth grade. Pinyon met the criteria as a result of high levels of achievement rather than changes or gains in achievement. In fact, the graphs at both third and sixth show there have been minimal gains except in sixth grade mathematics (Figure 4.8) and third grade reading by the lowest SES subgroup (Figure 4.13). Sequoia, on the other hand, met the criteria more through gains, especially at third grade, as is clearly shown in figures 4.5 and 4.6. Based on the three criteria, Shasta achieved some degree of effectiveness at third grade, but met only one criterion at sixth grade. Tahoe and Sierra remain ineffective schools in terms of the three criteria.

The five year trend in CAP data shows that the school improvement process had an impact on student achievement in five of the eight schools and provides a basis for describing some schools as more effective than others. Presenting a five year trend is also important for three other reasons. First, by examining the data over a five year period and setting criteria by which to evaluate it, a more reliable picture of a school's degree of effectiveness emerges. While the data tend to confirm Rowan's (1983) criticism of relying on test scores to determine effectiveness because they fluctuate from year to year, the data also show that there is a fairly consistent pattern of either improvement or non-improvement in achievement results.

Second, the five year trend helps to illustrate that school effectiveness cannot be approached as an event, but must be viewed as a long term process and commitment. None of the schools experienced overnight success, especially at sixth grade where increased test scores seemed much harder to achieve. Five of the eight schools, however, achieved significant increases in achievement over the five years (i.e., gained a half of a standard deviation or more in reading and math at third or sixth grade). Furthermore, the five schools met the most important criterion of an effective school—significantly raising the achievement of the students from the lowest economic subgroup in one or more subject areas..

Examining the gains and losses within the school context is a third reason for analyzing achievement data over time. When each school's history was explored, possible explanations for the fluctuations or lack of gains began to emerge. Of particular interest was the perturbations in the environment that may be influencing the schools ability to increase or even sustain achievement gains. For example, Yosemite and Pinyon experienced considerable growth in student population and a shift to a four track year-

round school schedule. Both schools remained at a relatively high level of overall performance as is shown in Figures 4.5-4.8. However, at Yosemite, when the scores are disaggregated, the achievement scores in reading and mathematics at both third and sixth grade declined for the lowest socioeconomic subgroup the year that the four track year-round schedule was implemented. This sudden drop in achievement scores for the lowest economic subgroup is explored in depth in Chapter 5 in the Yosemite case study.

The staff at Sequoia worked for three years to improve its program for its largely poor and Hispanic population before it began to see real gains. During the first three years, it also coped with shifting to a four track year-round schedule. In 1986-87, the school retained its year-round schedule, but operated with a single track. At this point, reading scores improved dramatically, especially at third grade, while math scores continued their steady, but less dramatic, increase. Shasta's scores showed a more erratic pattern. After several years of significant gains, there was a drop in scores in 1984-85, when a new principal came to the school. Then after a settling-in period, the scores began to improve slightly once again.

Over the last five years, at the third and sixth grade level, the scores at Sierra improved only slightly in reading and sixth grade mathematics and declined slightly in third grade mathematics. During this five year period, the school experienced a shift in population from an English fluent Filipino population representing the dominate ethnic group to limited English-speaking Hispanics now representing over a third of the school's students. Unless extra efforts are made, a population shift such as occurred at Sierra can slow improvement efforts. Other reasons for the lack of gains are explored in Chapter 5 in the Sierra case study.

Except for a slight increase in sixth grade mathematics, Tahoe's third and sixth grade scores have remained at fairly constant and low levels over the last five years. The school has also had two changes in principals in this time frame. The impact of the personnel shifts and other school cultural, curriculum and organizational dimensions are discussed in Chapter 5 in the Tahoe case study.

Cross Case Comparison of Effective Schools Survey Results

An analysis of the survey results is necessary to answer the second and third research questions.

2. What differences in attitudes are revealed in comparing the survey results from the effective and ineffective schools?
3. How have the opinions of the school staff as assessed by the San Diego County Effective Schools Survey changed over time?

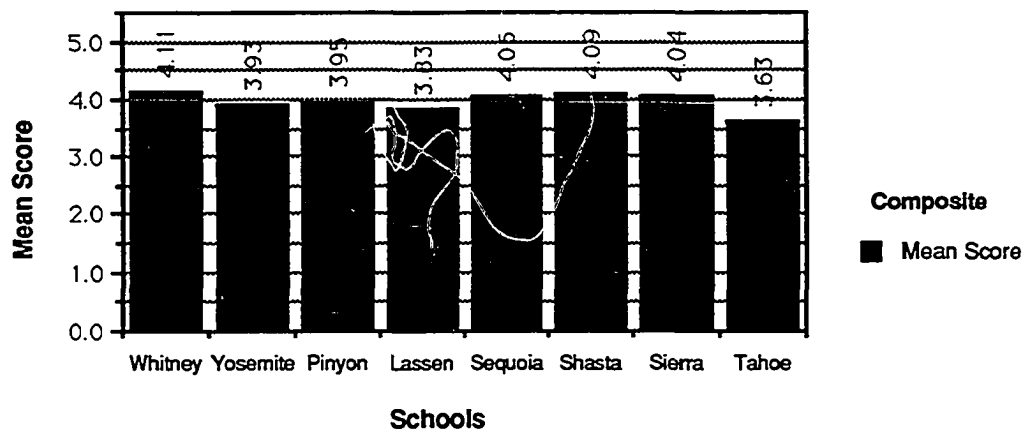
As noted above, the staff at each school completed the effective schools surveys three times over a period of several years (generally from 1984-5 to 1989). The survey results were used to help the staff gain insights into how each staff member perceived the operation of the school based on seven characteristics of effective schools: instructional leadership (IL), home-school relations (HSR), clear school mission (CSM), frequent monitoring (FM), opportunity to learn and time-on-task (OLTT), safe and orderly environment (SOE), and high expectations (HE).

The survey data, especially the initial survey results, were used for planning purposes by the school improvement team. The survey was not designed to discriminate among schools based on achievement. Micks (1988), however, found that when the San Diego County Effective Schools survey was given to staff members in 27 low income schools, (i.e. 30% or

more AFDC students, but less than 30% non-English speaking students) there was a correlation between significant three year gains in reading achievement at the third grade and a high composite score on the effective schools survey. He did not find that the mean score for any individual correlate could be used to predict achievement gains.

Figure 4.17

Comparison of Composite Mean Scores of the San Diego Effective Schools Surveys Administered in 1989.



In this study, to see if a similar relationship existed, a cluster analysis was completed on the 1989 effective schools survey results for the eight schools. From the analysis, only Tahoe was identified as being significantly different from the other schools. Figure 4.17 presents the composite scores for each school and shows that the composite mean of Tahoe's effective schools survey results is lower than the other schools, as was shown in the cluster analysis. The graph also shows that Sierra and Shasta, the other two

schools that test data analysis showed to be in the less effective category, had higher mean scores than did Lassen, Yosemite, and Pinyon, three schools that had much higher degrees of effectiveness. Thus, based on this small sample size, the survey results do not discriminate between the more effective and less effective schools, except in the case of Tahoe.

The third research question was whether or not the attitudes of the school staff, as assessed by the effective schools surveys had changed over time. Table 4.5 presents a composite percent agree score for each school each year the survey was given

Table 4.5

Trend in Responses to the Effective Schools Survey based on a Composite Percent Agree Score

Schools	Percent Agree by Years		
	1985	1987	1989
Whitney	67%(1986)	80%	85%
Yosemite	62 (1984)	74 (1985)	78
Pinyon	76	78	80
Lassen	67	75	76
Sequoia			84
Shasta	79	91	85
Sierra	69	69	81
Tahoe	56	54 (1986)	66

The data show that from the base year, there were changes in a positive direction (i.e., more teachers agreed with the survey items). It is interesting to note that Whitney, the school with the greatest achievement gains, especially at third grade, also had the largest gain in percent agreement

among teachers (18 percentage points). Yosemite's percent agreement increased by 16 percentage points, the second highest change over the five years. Pinyon had the least change in opinions. The one area that dramatically increased in percent agreement was the area of high expectations moving from 55% to 85% agree. The other correlates stayed relatively the same except for frequent monitoring which decreased from 92% to 69% agree. In the case of Pinyon, there seems to be a parallel between the moderately high percent agreement that stayed constant since 1985 and the moderately high but similarly stable test scores.

Since 1985, there was a ten percent increase in the overall agreement level among staff members at Lassen. As in the case of its test scores, there have been steady increases in the percent agreement among staff members indicating that more aspects of the effective school correlates are in place. Lassen did not attain the high achievement gains of Whitney, a school serving a similar student population, and neither has it experienced substantial shifts in opinions regarding the effective schools characteristics assessed by the survey.

Shasta, a school with the most erratic achievement gains, also was the only school in which the percent agreement increased in 1987 and decreased in 1989. Sierra's percent agreement stayed the same through two administrations of the survey, but increased by 12 percentage points in 1989. Both the interviews and the surveys revealed that the staff held positive views in regard to the quality of their program. Poor parental support was perceived as the major reason why scores had not improved. This is in contrast to the far more critical and analytical views expressed by the staff at Yosemite and Pinyon in the interviews and substantiated by the lower percent agreement on the surveys. Brookover and Lezotte (1979) found that

teachers in high performing schools were often less satisfied than teachers in less effective schools. The higher overall percent agreement at Sequoia, Shasta, and Sierra compared to the opinions at Yosemite and Pinyon may be a reflection of this phenomenon. These three schools are serving large number of limited-English and poor children. The staff in each school has worked to improve the school's program and the teachers may feel that they are doing the best they can.

Tahoe, like Lassen, had a ten percent increase in overall agreement, but the level of agreement remained ten percentage points below the other schools. As in the case of Sierra, the staff expressed concern about the low educational levels of parents and lack of family assistance provided to students. The survey results and the interviews showed that the staff also recognized that there were problems with the school as well.

In summary, the views of staff members have changed over time. These changes could be a function of repeated administering of the survey. A detailed review of the survey data, however, showed that views have changed most in those areas where the staff has placed an emphasis, such as high expectations at Pinyon, home-school relations at Sierra, instructional leadership at Whitney. Other areas that were not a focus of the improvement process, tended to remain the same. The four case studies in Chapter 5 discuss in more depth the kinds of changes that have occurred. In addition, the case studies seek to answer the fourth research question: What factors best explain the ability of schools to initiate change and to sustain school effectiveness over time?

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS: FOUR CASE STUDIES

As was stated in the beginning, the overall purpose of this study was to analyze factors that contribute to achieving and sustaining school effectiveness in elementary schools and to gain a better understanding of organizational changes required to achieve and sustain effectiveness. More specifically, this study set out to examine the longitudinal impact of school improvement efforts on student outcomes; to identify factors associated with school change and improvement for a period of at least four years; and to explore the relationship between the school site and the district during the improvement process.

Using data gathered from effective schools surveys, interviews, and other school documents, case studies were prepared for four of the eight schools involved in this study. To answer the questions posed by this study and to structure the case studies, the model, "An Interactive Model of a School Effectiveness Change Process," (Figure 1.1) presented in Chapter One, was used. Each case study is organized in five sections: (a) The Setting, which describes not only the school, but the district context in which the school operates; (b) School Climate and Culture, which encompasses school safety and discipline, recognition and rewards for students and staff, teacher expectations for students, home-school relations and shared mission; (c) Curriculum and Instruction, which includes academic focus, frequent

monitoring of progress, time on task, use of test results, curriculum alignment, and staff development;

(d) Schoolwide Organizational Structures and Procedures, which addresses structures for shared decision-making, collaborative problem solving, and communication; and (e) School Leadership, which includes the role of both principal and staff in guiding and shaping the culture, curriculum and instruction, and organizational structures and procedures to bring about change.

Through the individual stories of school change some of the differences in the school improvement process will be highlighted. Comparisons will be made between the opinions of teachers when they first took the San Diego Effective Schools Survey compared to their opinions in 1989. The words of teachers and principals and analysis of survey and interview results will be used to explain how each school has or has not increased in effectiveness.

Whitney Elementary: Creating a Culture for Achievement and Success

The Setting

Whitney Elementary is located in a small school district consisting of seven elementary schools and two middle schools. The district serves 3,423 students, 54% of whom are White, non-Hispanic, 11% Black, non-Hispanic, 22% Hispanic, 2% Asian, and 2% other. Whitney Elementary has an enrollment of 525 students and is fairly representative of the district's overall socioeconomic ethnic makeup. For example, at Whitney, 10% of the students come from professional families. At the district level seven percent fall into this category. Most students at both the school and district level fall into the skilled and unskilled categories with Whitney having 45% and 20%

respectively, and the district having 39% of its students in the skilled category and 25% in the unskilled group. At both the school and district level there are very few non-English speaking students. Sixteen percent of the students at Whitney are fluent in English plus a second language and 1.3% are limited or non-English proficient students. Twelve percent receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children, which represents an increase over the previous years and 25% receive free or reduced price lunches. The school has a socio-economic index of 2.02 which makes it middle to low-middle class compared to other schools in the state.

The school's physical plant consists of 19 classrooms, a media/library center, a room for the resource specialist, an auditorium, a volunteer lounge, a teachers' workroom, and lunch area. There are 21 certificated teachers, two of whom work with special education students. The school has several additional resource personnel including a full time reading specialist, a part time social work, a nurse, a psychologist, and a speech therapist. Throughout the year the school is also assisted by several student teachers, and social worker and psychologist interns from local colleges and universities. Classified support staff include two full-time special education aides, a school secretary, a health clerk, custodian, two cafeteria personnel, 11 classroom aides, and a volunteer coordinator. In 1987-88, the school received \$54,000 School Improvement funds which supported classroom aides and purchased instructional materials.

In a previous study (Pollack, Chrispeels, Watson, Brice, McCormack, 1988), the district was identified as an effective district with achievement for all students being higher than expected based on the SES of the district. More importantly, test data disaggregated at the district level showed that students from all socioeconomic groups were out-performing their

counterparts in the state. While the district's leadership team of superintendent and the assistant superintendent of instruction and personnel have guided the district's improvement efforts, not all schools in the district have achieved effectiveness.

The district was one of the first in the county to utilize the San Diego County Office of Education's effective schools program on a systemwide basis. A retreat was held in the fall of 1985 with all principals, district administrators, and the board of education to learn about the effective schools research and how it might assist the district and its schools in their improvement efforts. The district supported individual school efforts through assistance with test analysis, articulation of the state curriculum frameworks and guidelines, and staff development that addressed district needs and facilitated implementation of the state curriculum frameworks. Schools were required to develop thorough improvement plans. The superintendent was proud of the fact that the district had maintained personnel and programs that other districts had cut such as social workers, and music and art programs. Districtwide academic competitions were used to encourage a focus on achievement. Support from the district facilitated the efforts of Whitney to increase its effectiveness.

The principal at Whitney Elementary had been leading the school for the past ten years. When he assumed the principalship, Whitney was the worst performing school in the district, had a high rate of vandalism (there were three incidents of arson in his first year), and the school was not regarded as a desirable place to teach. Under the principal's leadership the school moved from being the lowest to one of the highest achieving school in the district. In 1989, Whitney was selected as a California Distinguished School.

Table 5.1

Comparison of School and State Scaled Score Results on the 1988 California Assessment Program Disaggregated by Parent Occupation

Subject	Professional	Semiprof	Skilled	Unskilled
	Scaled Scores			
Reading				
School	359 (10%)*	384 (15%)	359 (45%)	326 (20%)
State	346 (12%)	308 (17%)	276 (31%)	238 (17%)
Writing				
School	438	365	313	356
State	341	309	279	243
Math				
School	387	368	348	335
State	334	301	276	247

*Numbers in parentheses refer to percent of students in each category at the school and in the state.

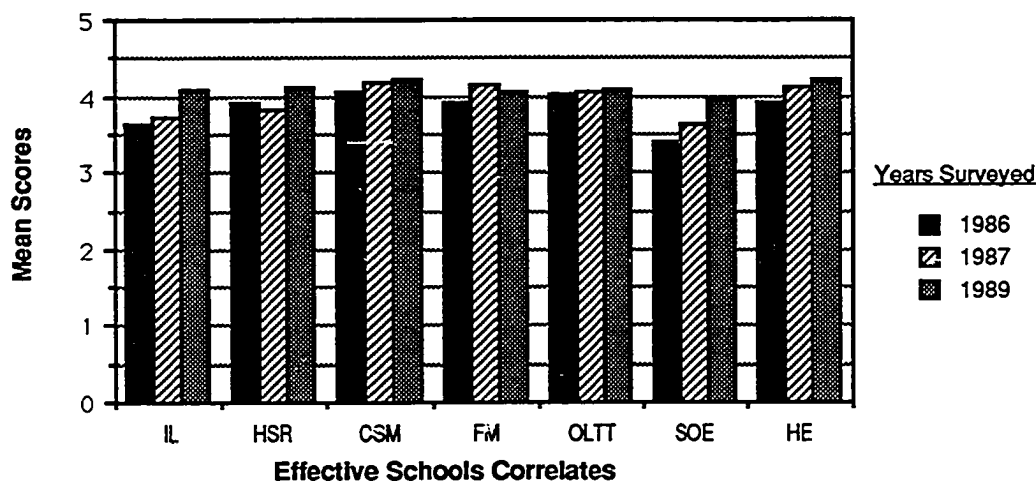
In the beginning, the principal's goal was to restore order and raise student achievement at least to the fiftieth percentile. That goal has been far surpassed, especially at the third grade level. Based on results from the California Assessment Program in 1988, at the third grade level, only five percent of the students fell into the bottom quartile in reading, writing, or math. Table 5.1 shows when student achievement data were disaggregated by family income, all Whitney students did extremely well, with scores well above students in comparable groups in the state.

At the sixth grade, as was shown in Chapter 4, student achievement had not increased as dramatically as at third. In 1987 the sixth grade students were moved to a middle school. Since the 6th graders at the middle school were mixed with the students from other elementary schools, it was not possible to know specifically whether the achievement of Whitney's students had increased or decreased in 1988. The 1988 middle school overall results showed that achievement in reading declined slightly and achievement in math increased for all middle school students.

The principal and staff at Whitney have been intensely involved in a school effectiveness process since a 1985 orientation. As can be seen from the effective schools survey results from 1986 presented in Figure 5.1, many staff members did not agree that effective school characteristics were fully in place even though test scores had improved. Figure 5.1 also shows that staff opinions indicated that more of the characteristics were being implemented in 1987, and 1989. From the graph it is easy to see that each year as the principal and staff addressed areas of concern, the staff perceived the school in a more positive light. The growth in percent agree was significant for each correlate. Each year that the staff completed the survey, they were also extensively involved in analyzing survey results. From discussions with the principal and the staff, it was clear that they took these results seriously and targeted areas of greatest need for improvement.

Figure 5.1

Comparison of Mean Scores of Teacher Opinions on the Effective Schools Surveys Completed in 1986, 1987, and 1989



School Climate and Culture

In 1989, if one word were used to describe the culture of Whitney it would be achievement. This had not always been the case. Ten years ago the staff and community had little to cheer about in terms of school climate or student achievement. By 1989, a number of significant and fundamental changes had occurred that altered both the climate and the culture of Whitney.

Safe and orderly learning environment. While the effective schools research has not established a hierarchy among the correlates that are associated with effectiveness, a safe and orderly learning environment is considered by many to be a prerequisite for improvements to be made in other areas. The principal at Whitney, saw the creation of a safe and orderly environment as his first task. While those years of concentration on safety

and order lie outside the purview of this study, they laid the foundation for the school to become more effective because some degree of order was restored to the school, incidents of vandalism declined, and a discipline code was initiated. A special celebration for Martin Luther King's birthday was begun as a way of building racial harmony and respect for others. Even with this effort, when the first effective schools survey was administered to the staff in 1986, the correlate of safe and orderly environment was ranked lowest, with only 53% of the staff in agreement that the school had a safe and orderly environment. Between 1986 and 1989 the principal and staff continued efforts to improve the school climate and discipline. The overall percent agreement in the 1989 survey rose to 81%, showing that considerable improvement had been made. Table 5.2 summarizes the results of the surveys given in these two years, and shows how opinions have changed as a result of the efforts of principal, staff, and students. The staff still has concerns focusing on verbal abuse, security of property, and vandalism.

Table 5.2

Comparison of Teacher Opinions Regarding School Climate Based on the San Diego Effective Schools Survey Given in 1986 and 1989

Survey Item	Percent Agree	
	1986	1989
• Students are taught the school rules	89%	100%
• Teachers treat students with respect	95	100
• Few discipline problems are referred to the office	79	65
* This school is a safe and secure place to work	63	90
• Teachers, admin.,parents, students share discip. responsibility	32	85
• It is safe to work after students are dismissed	52	80
•There is a positive school spirit	58	90
• Vandalism by students is not a problem	11	50
• The school buildings are kept in good repair	42	85
• Repairs/Alternations responded to in reasonable time	21	70
• Property of students is secure	21	55
• Property of staff is secure	37	60
• Students are respectful and not subject to verbal abuse	11	55
• Staff treated respectfully/not subject to verbal abuse	47	80
• Admin. supports teachers in dealing with discipline matters	42	90
• Admin. enforces student rules consistently/equitably	42	90
• Students rewarded/praised by staff for following rules	63	90

The principal was pleased that the greatest concern expressed by the staff now was in regard to verbal abuse by students of each other. He could remember the days when breaking up fights occupied much of his time. This view was echoed by one of the teachers when she said, "Before we were at a primal level. Could we make it through a day with out being called some very gross names, or being hit, or not having to break up a fight? Now we are to the point where we are saying, 'Couldn't you find a nicer way to say that to another student?'"

Recognition and rewards. Obviously there is a critical and cyclical link among student achievement, student recognition and rewards, and sense of self-esteem. All schools in this study recognized and rewarded student achievement. According to the effective schools surveys, the teachers at Whitney felt that they were now recognizing and rewarding students more that they were in 1986. The interviews with the staff and a review of documents, indeed, showed that Whitney Elementary was unique in the enormous variety of rewards that students could receive. Awards were given for participation in schoolwide extracurricular activities such as Family Literature, Family Math Night, Spring Olympics, Lemon Grove Fun Run, Book Character Parade, St. Jude Math-A-Thon, and so forth. The monthly principal's awards focused on academic areas such as math, reading, science, problem-solving, and writing. There were recognition programs for grade specific extracurricular activities such as cross-age tutor program, Say No to Drugs Program, student council, safety patrol, media helpers, cafeteria helpers, winter performances, districtwide competitions, tri-annual homework awards (grades 2-5), tri-annual academic awards (grades 3-5), rhythm band, American History Week, Presidential Academic and Physical

Fitness Awards. There were many classroom recognition activities and awards as well, including the principal's program to call parents at home with positive messages. The extensive amount of recognition, especially the focus on achievement in specific academic areas, contributed to creating a climate of achievement at Whitney.

Although most of the teachers interviewed in the eight schools felt that the amount of student recognition was sufficient, many staff members felt that teacher recognition was minimal. Most stated they were recognized for extra efforts, but few felt there was sufficient recognition of their teaching. However, at Whitney four of the five staff members interviewed felt they were recognized for their teaching. A review of the staff bulletins showed that the principal regularly commended the staff for their instructional efforts. For example, in one bulletin the principal described the following instructional practice.

First graders in Giza's room were graphing "apple snacks" at the morning snack break. The activity involved counting, graphing, and predicting. This is a super example of how to take a non-learning activity and get some educational value from it. Could something like this be done with snacks other than green, red, and yellow apples?

One teacher stated that instructional expertise was recognized informally by their extensive involvement in decision making and in staff development. Being selected to be a mentor teacher was also seen as a form of recognition. Even though most of the Whitney teachers felt they were recognized for both teaching and extra efforts one teacher concluded by saying that "Given the type of job we have, being asked to give out so much, we can always be recognized more than we are." Another teacher

echoed this view by saying that even if the principal recognized teachers more, for some it would still not be enough.

The interviews revealed some unique ways in which the principal has recognized teacher efforts and linked them to student achievement. The first year the school was above the state comparison band, the principal had a large cake made that said, "CAP Busters." Another year, the PTA bought plaques for all teachers to recognize their efforts in increasing student achievement. Last year, when Whitney's CTBS scores were the highest in the district, the Principal asked the Kiwanis Club if they could give some kind of recognition to the staff. The club gave each teacher an attractive paper weight that said, "BEST in the District CTBS." These actions to recognize the staff helped to reinforce the ethos and culture of achievement at Whitney.

High expectations. Establishing a safe and orderly learning environment and recognizing students are necessary but not sufficient to achieve increased school effectiveness. Increasing expectations for student achievement is another key ingredient. In the beginning, the principal at Whitney set a goal of bringing student achievement to the fiftieth percentile; now, according to the principal, the staff is aiming for the ninetieth percentile. In fact, one of the most striking aspects of Whitney Elementary, as revealed through the interviews, was the culture of achievement that permeated the school. A critical shift in opinion has occurred: more teachers now believe that they can successfully teach all students regardless of their home background. When asked if she had changed any of her attitudes as a result of the effective schools process, one teacher at Whitney said:

"Yes, the big difference is now I don't write off any child. I used to very strongly feel that children that didn't have any support, that came from terrible homes, how could I do anything with them when they came poorly clothed, unfed, ill. And over time, with effective schools, I came to realize we can make a difference even in these worst scenarios. That's my biggest change, believing all children can succeed regardless of their home background.

All of the staff members interviewed echoed similar sentiments and stressed the high standards they set for all students. When the survey results from 1986 and 1989 were compared, it showed that more staff members held higher expectations of students in 1989. Since 1986, the overall percent agreement in this correlate has risen from 74% to 89%.

How did the staff of Whitney Elementary come to develop such high expectations and create a culture of success? The principal clearly had an important role. He said that he typically found teachers to be more concerned with the affective and the affiliation needs of students than with achievement. His strategy to help the staff be concerned also with achievement was to begin recognizing achievements of all types. He was able to do this when several Whitney students won district academic competitions. He linked these student successes back to the efforts of the teachers. He often found areas of strength and pointed these out to the staff. Once the teachers began to see some gains and achievement became a regular topic at faculty meetings, views began to shift. At lunch time, on classroom visits, and in assemblies, the principal also spent time giving pep talks to students about what they had accomplished and how they could continue to grow. Through constant reinforcement of teachers and students, an ethic of achievement was created.

Home-School Relations. The interrelationship and interaction between home and school is another key variable that is part of the culture and climate component of school effectiveness. Like many schools, the staff at Whitney traditionally measured parent involvement by the number of parents who volunteered. Whitney also was experiencing the national trend of fewer volunteers because more and more parents were working full time and fewer were available to volunteer. In contrast to teachers at Sierra, Tahoe, and Lassen, the staff who were interviewed did not bemoan the situation, but expressed considerable appreciation for those who did volunteer. In addition, the staff had taken specific steps to make sure that the school was staying in touch with parents who were unable to come to school to volunteer. They initiated regular class newsletters. Telephone calls, notes home, a homework folder, clear policies on homework and discipline that must be signed by parents, invitations to observe the class, back-to-school nights that focused on schools goals, learning objectives and materials, family nights that involved parents and their children in curriculum, and parent-teacher conferences were all used to build strong parent involvement and home-school relations. As a result of their concerted efforts, teachers felt that parents were better informed and were more supportive of their children's schoolwork and of the school. The effective schools survey data presented in Table 5.3 show there have been some important shifts in key items regarding parent-teacher contacts.

Table 5.3

Comparison of 1986 and 1989 Responses to Selected Items Regarding Home-School Relations

Survey Item	Percent Agree	
	1986	1989
• 90% to 100% of the parents attend parent-teacher conferences	63%	90%
• Most parents are aware of the instructional objectives	26	65
• Most parents have a clear understanding of the school goals	58	70
• Teachers and parents aware of homework policy	89	100
• There is cooperation between parents/teachers re homework	63	80
• Student homework is monitored at home	42	70
• Almost all students complete assigned homework	58	70
• Most parents support school when child disciplined	84	90
• There is an active parent group at this school	84	90
• Parents and community members are frequent volunteers	58	69
• Teachers contact parents on a regular basis	74	80
• 75% plus parents attend open house/back-to-school night	48	69
• Teachers invite parents to observe the instructional program	53	79
• Teachers communicate with parents about good more than the bad	32	75
• Most parents rate this school as superior	63	85

Work by Johnson, Brookover, and Farrell (1989) indicated that teacher perceptions of parents' role, interest, and expectations for their children impacted students' sense of futility and student achievement. In other words, if teachers have positive views of parents and believe that they care about their children, these positive teacher perceptions influence students in positive ways. Becker and Esptein (1984) in their studies also found that teacher efforts to communicate with parents and involve them in home learning activities resulted in higher student achievement in reading. Thus, the shifts in opinions about parents and efforts to involve them, may be a factor in increasing student efforts and success in the classroom.

The data from Whitney Elementary indicated that three important variables—teacher expectations, parent-teacher relations, and student achievement—are interrelated and may result in either a positive or a negative achievement spiral. If student achievement increases, especially the achievement of students who frequently have not been successful, teacher expectations for future achievement are increased. These higher expectations produce higher achievement which demonstrates to the school staff that even students from low-income parents can be successful learners. As a result, the school staff moves away, consciously or unconsciously, from blaming the parents for poor student outcomes and is able to focus on positive and substantive parent contacts and communications. In turn, parents feel more involved and know better how to support their child's learning at home and at school. Thus, a spiral for success more typical of schools serving affluent students can be created in a school serving middle and low-income students. This success spiral seemed to have been created at Whitney as reflected in the attitudes of the staff who expressed high expectations for students and for themselves; they viewed themselves as

capable of teaching all students and held positive attitudes towards parents as partners.

Shared mission. When the school initiated the effective schools program, the staff participated in a "We Agree" process to help develop a mission statement. The following "We Agree" statements shaped the mission of Whitney and drove their school improvement efforts.

1. We agree there needs to be continuity of curriculum that guarantees each child's involvement in learning the core curriculum.
2. We agree there needs to be an alignment of materials and strategies with the assessment tools.
3. We agree there needs to be a specific set of exit level expectations for each subject at each grade level.
4. We agree there need to be meetings to annually review and discuss expectancies and criteria for indicating that students are "at or above grade" level.
5. We agree that parents need to be notified of grade level requirements at the beginning of the school year.
6. We agree in helping students develop positive self-esteem
7. We agree in instilling knowledge, developing skills, and promoting open, inquiring minds, and a desire to learn in students.
8. We agree in helping students become academically sound.
9. We agree to support each other in these endeavors.

From the "We Agree" statements emerged the following mission statement: "Our school mission is to help students become responsible citizens in a democratic society. " It is interesting to note that the "We

Agree" statements stress the academic goals of the school more fully than the mission statement.

In the interviews in 1989, a somewhat different mission emerged. Each teacher phrased the mission in their own words, however, the mission clearly encompassed a more academic focus compared to the written mission statement developed in 1986. One teacher said the mission was "To be one of the best schools in the county; to set high goals and standards and communicate them to parents and kids." Another teacher said "Provide every child with the opportunity to learn—the low, the high, and the middle." A third teacher echoed these words by saying: "Provide all children with a quality education—academically and socially." The teachers also expressed a firm belief that the parents and students knew and shared the mission. As one teachers said, "Parents and students share the mission because all teachers work with parents and send home newsletters, conduct conferences, etc." This statement shows the close parallel between high expectations and home school relations. By 1989, many of the teachers at Whitney, not only held high expectations for students, but also were embedding those standards and expectations in the community through regularly communicating the mission and expectations to the parents. At several of the other schools, especially the least effective schools, more teachers expressed the view that only some of the parents shared the mission—only the higher SES parents.

Curriculum and Instruction

While all six variables that encompass curriculum and instruction component can be shown to have played a role in increasing student achievement at Whitney Elementary, five deserve special attention because

of the unique ways they operated at Whitney. These elements are: the use of test results, academic focus, curriculum alignment, frequent monitoring, and staff development.

Use of test scores. All schools in the study reviewed and analyzed their test scores. At Whitney, the staff seemed to have greater confidence in its ability to analyze and use test results. The staff, with the principal, annually reviewed the results identified strengths and weaknesses, and then, brainstormed ways to address the weaknesses. The effective schools survey results of 1986 compared with those of 1989 showed that the staff was reviewing and using test results more systematically than in 1986. In 1989, a higher percent agreed with all the items regarding tests results and their use:

- The principal reviews and interprets test results with the faculty;
- Principal emphasizes the meaning and use of standardized test results;
- Principal and staff initiated test results to modify and change instructional programs.
- Test results used for reteaching
- Test results used to diagnose students strengths and weaknesses

The interviews confirmed that the test results were carefully reviewed by the staff, and the information used to modify the instructional program. One teacher described the process this way:

A couple of years ago we discovered that test scores in problem solving were not good. Consequently, we focused on it. We had inservice by the district in problem solving. We purchased materials,

especially Bell Works, and made sure that it was used because it presents a lot of different types of problem solving strategies. We also found a textbook that was more problem solving oriented. We supplemented the textbook with manipulatives. So we purchased quite a lot materials and we inserviced our teachers on their use.

In addition to knowing how to analyze and use test data, the staff at Whitney also knew how to analyze and use the effective schools survey data in developing its annual improvement plan. Analysis of the survey data was not done as extensively by teachers in any of the other schools.

Curriculum alignment. As illustrated by the example given above, the staff at Whitney was sufficiently familiar with what was covered on standardized tests to align the curriculum. Recently the district mandated the use of Explorations, a new math textbook. Without guidance or direction from the principal, the curriculum alignment committee met to study the new textbook. As one teacher recounted: "We observed that Explorations had a tremendous number of gaps and that if we were going to go strictly with Explorations, we were going to have serious pitfalls in test scores." The teachers then "red flagged" these weaknesses to the principal who ordered the additional support materials that the teachers requested. This contrasted sharply with the experiences of staff at Tahoe, Sierra and Shasta where the district did not have the new math textbook aligned until very late in the school year, and the staffs did not know how to align the book, leaving them feeling frustrated and helpless. The principal at Whitney felt that the efforts that he and the staff invested in aligning the curriculum had served as the necessary first steps essential to raising test scores and initiating the success cycle.

Academic focus. The particular academic focus at Whitney each year was determined by four factors: the textbook adoption cycle, the state curriculum frameworks, the district's academic priority, and the school's identified needs. All schools must address the need to train staff and institute curriculum alignment when a textbook is adopted. At Whitney the staff was skilled in curriculum alignment, and had been able to ensure that new textbooks were integrated into the curriculum and matched with other materials and curriculum areas.

The staff had been given copies of the curriculum frameworks and efforts were underway to modify the curriculum to match the new frameworks. The interviews indicated the staff was well on its way to using a literature based program to teach reading as has been recommended in the state frameworks. For example a staff bulletin had the following announcement:

Redo the Language Arts Curriculum. We will go over the State Language Arts Model Curriculum at next Tuesdays' meeting. Will the following teachers please be prepared to lead discussion groups at their grade levels.

Each year the district also determined an area of academic focus. The district provided the required staff development to assist each school in implementation. The analysis of test results has been the fourth way in which academic focus for Whitney is determined. For example, when problem solving surfaced as a weakness, it was addressed. The interviews revealed that the staff felt empowered to focus on areas of greatest need as determined by them. They seem comfortable in integrating state, local, and district priorities to create a unified yearly improvement plan.

Frequent monitoring. Once an area of academic focus has been identified and staff development provided, a critical issue for any school is how to ensure implementation in the classroom and keep the momentum going. The principal at Whitney found unique ways of monitoring implementation that were not found in other schools. For example, to ensure that writing was a regular part of the instructional program, the principal collected a writing sample from each classroom once a month. On a simple check off-sheet, he asked the teacher to (1) indicate what the goal of the writing activity was, (2) to rate on a scale from one to ten how well the goal was met, (3) to indicate in what phase of the writing process this sample is (e.g. rough draft, rewrite, final), and (4) to inform the principal what should be stressed when the principal discusses the assignment with the students.

Several years ago the school and the district had hands-on science as an academic focus. To insure continued implementation, the principal required that each teacher indicate on the trimester lesson planning form which four hands-on science activities they would be doing. Time was given to staff members in grade level teams to discuss and plan these activities together. Similar requirements were made for AIMS—Activities for Integrating Math and Science.

Formal observations represented another monitoring strategy. One-half of the staff was observed formally each year. Previously the principal did one formal observation with a pre and post conference and two more informal drop-in observations. The effective schools survey data indicated that the staff felt very few formal observations occurred. He, thus, changed his format by conducting three formal observations, one of which focused on the year's academic priorities. He felt this had been very positive in terms of

increasing the amount of time spent discussing instruction with teachers and helping them to grow and improve. In addition, teachers used the Stull Bill Objectives (the state required evaluation procedures), which they had written, and their lesson plans were used as vehicles to reinforce the year's academic focus. With a staff that was well-equipped to annually monitor progress and evaluate successes and problems, combined with the principal's monitoring strategies, the staff at Whitney had been able to significantly improve achievement of all students at third grade and to make important, although less dramatic, improvements gains at sixth grade.

Staff development. Three types of staff development became apparent from the interviews at Whitney. First, the district provided a substantial program of staff development in which teachers were expected to participate. For example, all teachers had been trained in clinical teaching methods and hands-on science strategies. Second, the the staff, especially in the last two to three years had been actively providing its own site based staff development. As a teacher became trained or skilled in a particular area, she or he in turn would have the responsibility of training other staff members. Third, the principal played an important role in developing staff skills by teaching and empowering the staff to align the curriculum and to analyze test data and survey results. Grade level team meetings and curriculum committees served as important vehicles for the staff to discuss, test out new ideas, and to develop new instructional materials or strategies.

On the surveys in 1986 and 1989, the staff identified a number of problems with the staff development program. First, 25% of the staff still felt that the staff development program was not based on school goals. Second, 35% felt that there was not follow-up and assistance by the

administration after a staff development training. Third, 35% felt the principal and staff did not plan staff development together. One of the reasons staff members may have felt they did not have a role is that the district played such a dominant role in organizing formal staff development. Fourth, 60% did not feel that staff development was evaluated on use in the classroom.

School Organizational Structures and Procedures

Whitney Elementary has accomplished its goals by putting in place structures and procedures that facilitated growth and change. Every teacher interviewed stressed the importance of the grade level teams, the cross-grade level committees, and the faculty meetings that focus on instructional issues as important vehicles that have empowered them and enabled the school to improve. As one teacher said: "These [organizational] changes have had a definite impact on student achievement. We are all sharing, targeting, pulling together, and all working for the same goal." Another faculty member stressed that the sub-committee structure gave lots of teachers an opportunity for involvement. These committees did the leg work and presented information to the staff in a manageable form. "That makes us feel not so harried that we have 20,000 decisions to make. Consequently, we are making more effective decisions and I think that is reflected in our test scores and the way children behave in school." Shared decision making and collaborative problem solving is the norm at Whitney.

The extensive committee structure also facilitated constant communication, another key variable of the schoolwide organizational and structural component. All the staff members emphasized that they kept in touch with each other in many ways. As one teacher said, "It is exciting to

go to lunch because it's a time when we can share what's working, compare materials, and offer to assist each other." This constant communication has resulted in a common goal. The consistency in goals and expectations of the staff has meant that the staff was clearer and more consistent with students about what they must learn and how they must behave. What has emerged is a whole school view. The second grade teacher explained how this whole view worked. "I know exactly what my students need to master so they will be ready for third grade." She perceived her job not just to teach second grade, but to make sure that her all her students were ready for third.

Schoolwide Leadership Team

The literature on school effectiveness and change indicates that leadership is important if improvement is to occur. All the teachers interviewed agreed that the principal at Whitney played a critical role in the school improvement process. However, the leadership of the principal was not always so clear nor perceived so positively. The principal found that the effective schools process had given him a focus and helped him set priorities. On the first effective schools survey completed by the staff in 1986, the correlate instructional leadership had an overall agreement rate of only 57%; except for safe and orderly environment, it was the lowest ranked correlate. By 1989, the percent agreement had risen to 82%. Changes had occurred because the principal treated the perceptions and opinions of his staff seriously and took action to change his leadership practices. Table 5.4 summarizes some of the major changes that occurred in teacher opinions regarding instructional leadership.

Table 5.4

Comparison of Teacher Opinions Regarding Instructional Leadership in 1986 and 1989.

Survey Item	Percent Agree	
	1986	1989
• Principal is highly visible throughout the school	27%	85%
• Principal makes frequent contacts with students and teachers	27	95
• Instructional leadership from the principal is clear, strong, and central	37	80
• Principal seeks ideas and suggestions from staff	64	80
• Principal and faculty can solve most problems	64	95
• Principal is accessible to discuss instructional matters	52	90
• Principal initiates effective coordination of instructional prog.	37	80
• Administrative leadership effective in resolving educ. problems	58	75
• Administrative ldrshp. available for disagreements among staff	37	65
• Prin. emphasizes the meaning/use of standardized test results	79	95
• Principal initiates test results to modify /change the instruc. prog	58	90
• Principal active in promoting staff development activities	58	90
• Instructional issue are frequently the focus of staff mgts.	47	90
•Prin. makes several formal classroom observations each year.	47	90
• Before formal observation, principal discusses obs with teacher	79	100
• After formal observation, prin. discusses observ. with teacher	84	100
• After formal obs, teacher and prin develop improvem't plan	79	95

According to the staff, there are still areas for growth, especially in the area of staff development, both in terms of planning and evaluating its impact in the classroom. About a third of the staff declared that the principal did not give sufficient feedback on instructional techniques, and a quarter felt there was a need for more administrative leadership. The survey results indicated that the principal changed considerably during his tenure in ways that contributed to school improvement. In addition, the principal presented an effective model for his staff which encouraged them to grow and develop.

While the leadership of the principal at Whitney has been critical in leading the school's improvement effort, an equally significant element in the school's change process has been the development of a leadership team. The principal not only inspired his staff to do their best, but he also empowered them to do it. One teacher commented, " It is uncanny how [he] can get you to do what he wants and you think it is your decision." Another staff member explained the development of the school's leadership team this way. "[The principal] has really done a tremendous amount of delegating leadership to many other staff members; this was not done ten years ago." These staff members are now taking on major projects and inservicing the staff on such diverse topics as the effective schools process, the Program Quality Review process, cooperative learning, and personality assessments. We've done this for ourselves." The staff who were interviewed, respected the role that the principal played in guiding them, and as one commented, "He is a visionary." The staff members, however, also knew that they were the shapers of their destiny and that they had the power and capability to take the school to the ninetieth percentile in student achievement if that was their goal.

Sierra: The Frustrations of Considerable Efforts and No Gain

The Setting

Sierra Elementary is an ethnically diverse, single track year round school serving 639 students. It is located three miles from the United States-Mexico border, and is one of thirty schools in a large sized K-6 elementary school district that serves 15,562 students. This attractive, modern looking school was built in 1969 and consists of a main building, a separate kindergarten building and seven portable classrooms. The main building has three large instructional areas called lofts, a well equipped media-library center, a computer lab, and a multipurpose room. Each loft contains two grades, 1-2, 3-4, and 5-6, 180 students and six teachers. The first and second grade loft has been partitioned into self-contained classrooms, but the other two lofts remain largely open. The seven portable classroom on the site house two special education classrooms, two self-contained regular classrooms, and three portables are used for adult education and parent participation pre-school programs.

The school is ethnically quite diverse with only 13% of the students in the "white not of Hispanic origin" category as is shown in Table 5.5.

As can be seen from Table 5.5, the Filipino population at Sierra is significantly larger than in both the district and the state. In the last two years there has been a reversal in the proportion of Hispanic and Filipinos attending Sierra, with the Hispanic student population increasing from 27% to 38%, and the Filipino student population decreasing from 35% to 25%.

Table 5.5

Comparison of the Ethnic Distribution of Students in the School, District and State Based on the Sixth Grade CAP Data in 1988

Ethnic Group	School	District	State
American Indian/Alaskan Native	1%	1%	1%
Asian	8	3	7
Pacific Islander	1	1	1
Filipino	25	8	2
Hispanic	36	40	28
Black, Not of Hispanic Origin	12	4	8
White, Not of Hispanic Origin	13	37	45

Note. Percents in the vertical columns do not equal 100% because not all students are classified.

These demographic changes have resulted in a large influx of limited English or non-English speaking students (LES/NES). For example, in 1986-87, 8.2% of the third grade students were classified as LES/NES. In 1987-88, 24% of the students received that classification. In the district as a whole, the percentage of LES/NES students fell from 17% in 1986-87 to 13% in 1987-88. The percent of students receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children has remained fairly constant over the last several years at 11-12% and is equivalent to the district's figures. The percentage of students in each family income category is also equivalent to the distribution of students in the district as a whole. The distribution of students at the third

grade is as follows: Professional - 7%, Semiprofessional - 13%, Skilled/semiskilled - 37%, Unskilled - 18%.

In the San Diego County Office of Education's study of effective districts in 1988 (Pollack, et al. 1987), the district in which Sierra is located was identified as a typical district, but did not meet the criteria as a more effective district. The district was trying to improve on many fronts, but the efforts were fragmented. Certain key characteristics that were found in effective districts were less prevalent in this district. For example, in the area of staff development, some excellent opportunities were provided to the staff of each school to attend districtwide staff inservices. The topics, however, were not necessarily ones that were a priority at the school site. Nor was the whole staff of an individual school involved to ensure the development of a common understanding and uniformity of implementation. The district administration did not seem to be extensively involved in aligning the curriculum as was the case in the more effective districts. In 1987, the district was just beginning efforts to enhance the skills of its administrators as instructional leaders. Similarly, training of administrators and key teachers in the "Essential Elements of Instruction," a clinical teaching model was also just beginning. In contrast, the districts in which, Whitney, Pinyon, Yosemite and Sequoia were located had administrators and teachers who had been trained several years before using similar clinical teaching models. Furthermore, such training and other district meetings seemed to frequently occur during the school day, pulling principals away from the school site. Overall in Sierra's district, there was less pressure for academic achievement compared to more effective districts. While this is only a brief summary of some of the findings from the study of effective

districts (Pollack et al., 1987), it helps to set the context in which Sierra launched its effective schools efforts.

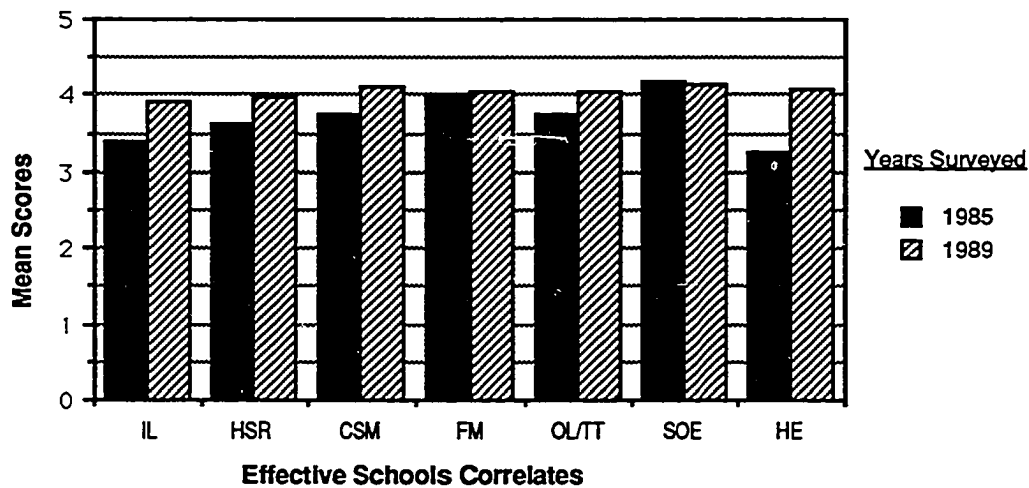
The principal came to Sierra in the summer of 1984. The principal whom he replaced had been at the school for seven years and had managed the school with little input from the staff or community. In contrast, the new principal had a reputation for being skilled in working with staff and community and had been the principal at one of the district's few community schools. The new, more open leadership style was readily accepted by the community, but required some adjustment by the staff who had retreated into their classrooms under the previous administration.

Soon after assuming the principalship, the principal contacted the San Diego County Office of Education to utilize its services in conducting an effective schools assessment. The surveys were given to the staff for completion in January of 1985. The data were assembled into a report. The school staff and community members spent a day analyzing the results and using the data to rewrite their school improvement plan.

Over the last five years the staff has continually worked to improve. Figure 5.2 summarizes the effective schools survey data compiled from surveys completed in 1985 and 1989. The graph shows that there have been changes in opinion in a positive direction in all correlate areas. Analysis of items contained in particular correlates, which are presented in subsequent sections in this case study, will show where changes have been made and in which areas changes in perceptions did not occur.

Figure 5.2

Comparison of Mean Scores of Teacher Opinions on the Effective Schools Surveys Completed in 1985 and 1989.



In spite of changes in each of the effective school correlates, the results in terms of standardized achievement have been discouraging, with little or no gains in any subject area. The school has consistently scored below other schools serving students with similar socioeconomic backgrounds at the third grade and has scored within the average range of similar at the sixth grade. The number of students scoring in the bottom quartile fluctuated between 42 and 31% in the third grade in reading, written language, and math, and between 31 and 21% in the 6th grade. At the third grade level, average scores in all content areas tested were well below district and state averages. In sixth grade, the achievement levels were also below district and state averages in reading and math, but in 1988, the sixth grade students scored at the state average in written language. The interviews revealed that the

failure to make any achievement gains was very discouraging for both principal and staff.

During the interviews, several teachers stated that they were making important gains with their lowest achieving students. This belief was supported at the sixth grade level when scores were disaggregated by family income. Students who fell into the skilled/semiskilled category and comprised 36% of the population were outperforming their district and state counterparts. In the lowest income category, Sierra students outperformed the students in the same category in written language and math and were equal in reading. The 25% of students in the professional and semiprofessional subgroups performed poorly in relation to their counterparts in the state. Table 5.6 compares the school's 1988 disaggregated CAP results with those of other students in the state.

Table 5.6

Comparison of the School's Sixth Grade 1988 CAP Results Disaggregated by Family Occupation with Those of Other Students in the State

Occupation	School					State			
	Students		Scaled Score			Students		Scaled Score	
	No.	%	Read	Writ	Math	%	Read	Writ	Math
• Professional	3	4%	14%	327	327	328
• Semiprofessional	16	16%	233	271	256	17%	292	298	294
• Skilled/Semiskilled		31	36%	283	285	279	35%	257	267 262
• Unskilled	23	27%	223	252	247	21%	224	237	235

Based on an analysis of the data collected from Sierra, it was not entirely clear why the students in the semiprofessional group were doing so poorly. One explanation, however, might be that many of the students who fell into the semiprofessional category were Filipino. While these students were classified fluent in English, no special effort was made to assess their language proficiency or to develop programs for them if their language skills were lacking. In contrast, there were Hispanic bilingual resources available and extra programs for these limited and non-English speaking students.

Based on an analysis of achievement data, shown in Chapter Four, Sierra remained a less effective school. The interviews conducted in 1987 and 1989 revealed that the school had undertaken a number of improvement initiatives. An analysis of the effective schools survey and interview data provided insights into how the school was functioning and some aspects of the school's climate and culture, curriculum and instruction, and organizational structures and practices that may help to explain why student achievement, as measured by standardized test, had not increased.

School Climate and Culture

The climate at Sierra could be summarized as warm, friendly, and positive. The cultural norms of the school stressed the affective. Many of the teachers at Sierra had been at the school for ten or more years. The school is one of the few remaining open plan schools with three large lofts (first-second grade, third-fourth grade, and fifth-sixth grade). Many of the teachers had chosen to teach at Sierra because it required teachers willing to team teach and work together. In the early years of the school's existence, teachers had also been actively involved in the selection of their colleagues, but this no longer seemed to be the practice now. In general, the teachers

were satisfied with their work situation. Within two of the lofts there was also a good team spirit among teachers.

Safe and orderly learning environment. Unlike the staff at Whitney, Sierra's staff felt that discipline, safety, and order were not major issues. In 1985, when the first effective schools survey was administered, the overall rate of agreement with the safe and orderly survey items was a high 90%. In 1989, when the survey was readministered, the rate of agreement was 89%. The only items that had changed negatively were concerns for the safety of student and staff members' property. All felt that a positive spirit permeated the school.

Between 1984 and 1988, the staff, principal, and parents worked hard to maintain a positive school climate as an area of strength. The principal recruited outstanding motivational speakers who addressed the topic of discipline and self-esteem. After one inservice on assertive discipline, a schoolwide committee was formed to develop an assertive discipline plan for the school. In 1987-88, the staff received training in classroom management techniques. All of these activities help to explain why a safe and orderly learning environment was not an issue at Sierra.

Recognition and rewards. Student recognition was primarily confined to each loft. Students earned recognition for improvements and growth in academic areas as well as behavior. Each loft had its own system of recognizing and rewarding students. At a schoolwide level, behavior and attendance were emphasized more than academic gains. For example, quarterly schoolwide assemblies with movies and popcorn were held to reward students who had had no discipline referrals. There was an end-of-

the-year schoolwide awards assembly where students were recognized for outstanding achievement, service on the school safety patrol, perfect attendance; other achievements were also acknowledged. Sierra's approach stood in sharp contrast to Whitney's where students in every classroom received schoolwide recognition for improvement in each academic area as well as other extracurricular activities at both monthly and special tri-annual assemblies. One teacher at Sierra commented on this lack of schoolwide recognition saying that she thought it was a mistake not to have schoolwide awards assemblies on a regular basis that recognized academic progress and improvement as well as behavior. "It is not the same when it comes from a teacher they see everyday. It is more meaningful when the principal gives the award." Whitney certainly found this to be true.

The fifth and sixth grade loft used a weekly contract system consisting of three categories: independent worker, directed worker, and dependent worker. The number of each type of contract fluctuated from week to week depending on each student's performance. Those on an independent contract earned extra privileges for that week. Team members urge their fellow classmates to strive to maintain an independent contract. The fifth-sixth grade contract system seemed to serve multiple functions in addition to rewarding students. The system helped the teachers keep in touch with parents. These teachers did not express the same level of frustration in dealing with parents that surfaced in the interviews with teachers from the other lofts. The teachers also felt the contracts helped to train the students to be responsible, independent learners, which linked to their stated mission.

The teachers interviewed at Sierra did not see teacher recognition as a strength. The principal agreed with this perception saying he did not think teachers were recognized as much as he would like. According to one

teacher, the principal points out honors teachers have received and the district committees on which teachers were serving. The entire staff met only four times a year, primarily for staff development and review of the School Improvement Plan. These infrequent meetings did not provide many opportunities for the principal to recognize teachers and the instructional strategies they were using in their rooms. One teacher expressed the view of several when she said, "There is a need for more teacher to teacher and principal to teacher recognition. The principal needs to take the initiative in recognizing teachers and patting them on the back." Unlike the staff at Whitney, Sierra's staff felt that they have had little to celebrate in terms of student achievement. The principal at Whitney when he was in a similar situation, however, had used teacher recognition for small student gains and accomplishments as a way to focus on achievement, to impact teacher self-esteem, and to motivate teachers to work harder.

High expectations. On the 1985 effective schools survey, high expectation was the second lowest area of agreement with only 52% agreeing. According to the survey, most of the teachers felt that they held consistently high expectations for students, and that they were responsible for students learning the basics. However, 46% did not expect that 95% of the students would graduate from high school. Thirty-four percent believed that family background determined achievement.

By 1989, the overall percent agreement with the items encompassing high expectation on the survey rose to 79%. During the intervening years, about 12 staff members had received training in TESA, Teacher Expectations and Student Achievement. This training was designed to help teachers become more aware of how they treated students in the classroom

and how their attitudes and practices could be lowering expectations. This training seemed to have paid off in terms of changes in teacher practices.. In 1989, 93% of the teachers agreed that they made sure low-achieving students had equal opportunity to respond. In 1985, only 58% agreed that they did.

Because the staff had not yet experienced success as reflected in standardized test scores, the interviews did not reveal the same upbeat attitude and high expectations found at Whitney Elementary. One faculty member said in regard to test scores. "We [the faculty] have done all we can to raise scores." She contradicted this statement, however, later in the interview when she described how she, a 20 year veteran teacher, had recently changed some of her teaching practices considerably as a result of the staff development program. She felt that the changes were improving the effectiveness of her teaching.

Home-School Relations. Much energy on the part of the principal was devoted on a schoolwide basis to improving home-school relations. The school received several grants to support its program as well as countywide recognition for its effort. The school held several well attended parent workshops each year. A monthly newsletter was distributed in English and Spanish. English as a second language classes were held at the school. Systematic Training in Effective Parenting (STEP) classes were conducted for parents in English and in Spanish. A unique cooperative parent involvement program was initiated with the neighboring junior high that resulted in cosponsoring parent education programs as well as joint staff inservices. These cooperative efforts made transition to the junior high much smoother for Sierra's students and parents. An active core of approximately 20-30 parents assisted in the school as classroom and school volunteers. Classroom teachers also instituted a number of ways of staying

in touch with parents. As mentioned above, the fifth and sixth grade loft used a weekly contract with students.

There were changes in teacher opinions regarding home-school relations as reflected on the effective schools survey. The overall percent agree has risen from 69% in 1985 to 79% in 1989. Table 5.7 show which items changed.

Table 5.7

Comparison of Teacher Opinions on Home-School Relations in 1985 and 1989 Based on the San Diego County Effective Schools Survey

Survey Item	Percent Agree	
	1984	1989
• Parent and teachers cooperate in monitoring homework	85%	92%
• Parents and teacher are aware of the homework policy	81	100
• Multiple methods are used to communicate with parents	89	97
• 90-100% parents attend parent-teacher conferences	69	89
• Almost all students complete assigned homework	78	81
• Parents frequently initiate contacts with classroom teachers	30	63
• Teachers invite parents to observe the instructional program	15	74
• There is an active parent group	52	76
• Most parents would rate this school as superior	85	52

Except for the last item the trend was upward in terms of positive feelings about this correlate. Some additional questions, however, were added to the effective schools surveys in 1986 when the surveys were

revised. The questions which were asked on the 1989 survey are significant in giving insights into the issue of home-school relations because of the low percent agreement on them. They are:

- Teachers communicate with parents about the good more than bad. 41% agree
- Most parents are aware of the instructional objectives. 26% agree
- 75% plus parents attend open house/back to school night. 26% agree

In spite of the schoolwide initiatives and gains in percent agreement, the interviews revealed that classroom teachers still seemed frustrated by what they perceived as a lack of parent support for children and the educational program. One teacher expressed her frustration this way:

The children have a hard time focusing. There are more at-risk kids. The population has changed considerably. Home life for many of these children is difficult, less structured. They are spending much more time watching TV and playing video games like Nintendo. We need to be working much more with parents to help them see how important education is and what they can do to help. The Filipino parents value education much more than the Anglo and Hispanic parents at the school. They put education first. Hispanic parents don't follow through.

In the winter of 1989, the principal had a portable telephone installed and urged teachers to use it to call parents with positive messages. Several of the teachers interviewed said they were making more positive contacts and sending more positive notes home now. They felt their efforts were having a positive impact on parents. One teacher had even received two positive notes in return. If the teachers continue to use the telephone, to send positive written communications, and to inform parents about specific

learning objectives and how they can help their children, there is evidence to suggest that less supportive parents will become more supportive (Epstein, 1987; Henderson, 1987).

As the principal at Whitney said, "It is critical to get those first gains in student achievement." Sierra's staff has not been able to achieve a breakthrough in test scores. Consequently the staff is having difficulty developing a psychology of success. It had not developed the positive attitudes towards parents that were found at Whitney which may have been undermining their perceived high expectations of students. The affective culture was strong at Sierra, but there was not yet a culture of achievement that permeated the school.

Shared mission. When asked about the mission of the school, three significant points emerged. First, the teachers stated that they knew what their loft mission was, but they were not sure that staff members in the other lofts shared the mission. Second, the mission focused more on affective issues—building self-esteem, helping students become independent learners, and learning to accept students from diverse backgrounds—and less on academic achievement. The fifth-sixth grade loft said that their mission was to adequately prepare the students for junior high school socially, emotionally, and academically. Third, most of the teachers interviewed felt that only 30 to 40% of the parents shared the mission. The loft with the weekly contracts felt that they were communicating the mission to parents and students and they felt most supported the mission; however, the teacher interviewed from this loft felt that this was not happening in the other lofts. Teachers from the other lofts confirmed her view. The loft structure seemed to have made it difficult to develop a schoolwide mission.

Curriculum and Instruction

Like the other schools in the study, the curriculum at Sierra was largely determined by the state curriculum frameworks, textbooks, and the district's curriculum guides. Analysis of several of the key correlates that encompass the curriculum and instruction component may help to explain why achievement gains had not yet come occurred at Sierra.

Use of test results. All of the teachers interviewed said they were aware of the test results and they knew that they were going to have to treat test scores much more seriously because of the new superintendent's views. The district's test evaluator annually reviewed the results with the staff and helped to identify strengths and weaknesses. On the effective schools survey, only 63% of the staff, however, indicated that test results were used to modify the instructional program. The teachers did not appear to be able to analyze and use test results as effectively as the staff at Whitney. The principal said that he had recently learned a great deal about analyzing test scores from the California School Leadership Academy program, and that he felt there was a need to better train the teaching staff in their use.

The principal stated that the staff had a tendency to dismiss the results. This view was also expressed by several of the teachers who were interviewed. A first grade teacher said, "They don't play a big role for me." Another teacher said that tools like standardized tests to assess students are needed, but expressed frustration that they measured so little. She went on to say, "The [state curriculum] frameworks have laid out many good educational concepts and are making good things happen in education. The frameworks are built on the basis of teaching the whole child, whereas the

CAP testing covers such a minor part. " The principal at Whitney recognized this teacher's point; however, he had helped his staff to see that CAP covered an essential 30% of the curriculum that students must learn. Once the students have mastered that, the staff would still have ample time to address other educational aspects that they thought were critical to teaching the whole child. In contrast, the staff at Sierra had not yet fully come to terms with the CAP test. One teacher summarized the problem this way:

This test business needs to be sorted out. CAP is not just a third and sixth grade problem. We say we don't believe test scores are that significant a measure. If that's the case, we won't and don't bother. Unfortunately, the district, state, and superintendent care. We need to, too. We need to see who is embarrassed by this state of affairs and who is going to join together to address the issue. We can bring up the test scores by better teaching to the test. There needs to be an articulated curriculum.

This ambivalence about test scores prevented the school from using the results extensively and vigorously to plan instructional improvements and, more significantly, to engage in curriculum alignment. The district in 1988-89, issued a pacing guide for the new math series, but it arrived too late in the school year to be of much assistance to the teachers. In fact, it seemed to have increased anxiety and tension. Unlike the teachers at Whitney, the teachers at Sierra did not have a committee in place to immediately review the new textbook and align it with the standardized tests themselves.

In addition to not aligning the curriculum, the staff had also done little in the way of test preparation. They had used materials such as "Scoring High" with the Chapter I students with good results. They had not used

these materials with others students, and, in fact, had been discouraged from doing so by the district administrative staff. The principal realized now that the decision not to use the materials was a mistake. He said that if he was staying at the school he would definitely use these materials with all students in the future.

Academic focus. When asked why she thought achievement had not improved, one teacher replied: "The main reason is the lack of unity and focus. We have no common goal or understanding. Everyone needs to be responsible and part of the effort to improve test scores." Only the principal talked about mastery of essential skills as a part of the mission. Without a clear sense of the academic goals and without systematic use of test scores, there seemed to be less of an academic focus at Sierra. The one area where the staff had come together had been in the area of writing. The whole staff received extensive training in the writing process in 1986-87 and made concerted efforts in their classrooms to increase the amount of writing assignments given to students. However, no other curriculum area had received such concerted attention over the last five years. Each loft and the other self-contained classrooms all seemed to operate independently of each other. There was curriculum planning within two of the lofts by the teachers, but that did not seem to be the case in the other loft or the two single classrooms which operated on their own. This is in sharp contrast to Whitney that had focused on science, on use of math manipulatives and problem solving, and on literature and the whole language approach to reading.

Frequent monitoring. The teachers in the two most cohesive lofts felt that they monitored the implementation of changes fairly well. As one teacher said, "In a loft situation one can't hide. Once a decision is made, all of us have to follow through because we observe each other and we talk about it." However, the first and second grade loft did not appear to be working together as a team, and it was unclear how the two self-contained classrooms were monitored and linked to the other classrooms.

The principal and staff monitored the implementation of their improvement plan four times a year as part of their four staff development days. This served as a significant process to bring the whole staff together and to break down loft barriers. The total staff involvement and the periodic reviews of the plan were a strength and helped to train and empower the staff to examine the instructional program. Unfortunately, this strength was not maximized through ongoing curriculum committees.

The principal played a role in monitoring school programs through formal and informal observations. In the interviews, the staff expressed appreciation for the principal's knowledge of the Essential Elements of Instruction and the feedback he gave them individually after an observation. The 1989 effective school survey results indicated that the staff was in near unanimous agreement that before a formal observation the principal and teacher met to discuss what would be observed and after the observation they met again to review what was observed. Only 75% percent of the teachers, however, stated that after an observation they developed a plan to improve instruction. While the teachers recognized that the principal was monitoring the program through observation, they did not see it as an active process in terms of the entire instructional program. The lack of regular staff meetings limited the time to discuss instructional issues across lofts and

limited the principal's ability to share his observations about the instructional program in the various lofts. In addition, the principal did not use the staff bulletin in the same way as the principal at Whitney to monitor the instructional program by sharing what he observed in various classrooms. The lack of regular discussions and sharing of instructional issues may help to explain the staff's feeling that there was insufficient monitoring.

Staff development. This aspect of the school improvement effort deserves special mention at Sierra because in the past three years it had served to bring the staff together, to increase collegiality across lofts, and to improve instructional skills. The first schoolwide staff development was a series of workshops on the writing process.

All of the teachers interviewed mentioned the important role the principal played in organizing high quality staff development programs. The staff identified the topics, but the principal recruited the presenters. In addition to training in the writing process, workshops were held on TESA, cooperative learning, the Essential Elements of Instruction, classroom management techniques, and homework strategies. As a result of these presentations, several teachers commented that a common language was developing among them. All of the teachers interviewed were excited and enthusiastic about the acquisition of new skills and the impact these were having on students in their classrooms. This enthusiasm about the teaching and learning process was not found two years ago when the initial interviews were conducted. The only concern expressed by the staff was that they needed some brief refresher courses and more reinforcement by sharing across lofts to discuss what was working and what refinements teachers were making in the skills they had learned and were now trying to implement.

Staff members shared with each other in the lofts, especially if one of them had attended a workshop and learned new information or skills. However, the interviews did not indicate that staff members were extensively involved in conducting schoolwide staff development as seemed to be occurring at several of the more effective schools.

School Organizational Structures and Procedures

The physical structure of Sierra shaped facets of its culture and climate and impacted curriculum and instruction. The loft system resulted in more team teaching and cooperative planning than was found in most schools and produced teachers who were able to teach in a fish bowl. As one teacher commented, "The loft system forces us constantly to be looking at the program and how to improve." Because of the planning time required to work as a team at the loft level, the structure also resulted in teachers who were wrapped up in their own work and who were less willing to take a whole school view. The loft structure created three schools within one with two isolated classrooms as appendages. As one teacher commented: "There is no articulation to speak of. The interactions between the lofts seems to be accusatory rather than problem-solving discussion." The teacher went on to acknowledge, however, that the situation was much better than it used to be.

During his tenure, the principal also had seen changes in the patterns of interaction with more teachers now associating with each other across lofts during staff inservices and at other meetings. When asked what the staff would recommend to others on how to improve, all of the teachers stressed the need to continue the schoolwide staff development program. In addition, they recommended the creation of curriculum committees that would cut

across grade levels and focus on key academic areas. They also felt the need to more frequently hold all-school staff meetings. Two years ago when the interviews were conducted for the 1987 study, the staff members did not appear willing to give up their loft autonomy. This shift in views represents an important change, and illustrates how long it takes to change the culture of a school.

Shared decision making, collaboration, and teacher empowerment. As mentioned above, teachers collaborated in the lofts. There was a great deal of shared decision making about the curriculum and instructional strategies to be used within the loft. Teachers felt they had a significant role in shaping the School Improvement Plan, but they were more divided about their role in budgetary matters. One felt that the School Improvement budget was predetermined and they had little say about that aspect of school improvement. In the beginning, over half of the School Improvement Budget was allocated for classroom aides. As personnel costs had increased, ever larger proportions were used for personnel, often without a thorough reexamination of the cost effectiveness of these expenditures. Consequently, the staff felt they had little say about the budget. Another teacher, however, mentioned that each loft had received an allocation of lottery funds and it was up to them to decide how to use these funds. She said she did not think teachers in other schools had so much say.

Other than the four school improvement planning days, the school did not have schoolwide committees that brought the staff together to work on curriculum issues. In 1987, a schoolwide discipline committee was established to develop a discipline plan for the school. As one teacher said, "The discipline plan was one issue we all worked on. We need to do more

activities like that." During the interviews, two teachers expressed a concern that there was a need to update the discipline plan, but the committee no longer existed and there was no vehicle to address the issue. At other points in the interviews, several teachers mentioned the need to develop a schoolwide oral language program, but again they seemed stymied because structures were not in place for tackling the issue. To address schoolwide issues, the principal met once a month with a representative from each loft and the kindergarten team; however, most of the teachers did not feel this was an adequate system or process for resolving instructional issues. All of those interviewed indicated that there was a need for more ways that would bring them together as a whole staff.

During the past five years, the staff felt empowered to act in their lofts. They learned to play an active role in writing the School Improvement Plan. They learned the value of working together in the staff development inservices, and they had come to recognize the need to establish some schoolwide curriculum committees.

Instructional Leadership

In 1985 when the first effective schools survey was administered and the principal was new, the results from the instructional leadership correlate showed that the staff was uncertain about the principal's role and leadership. In 1989, when the survey was administered again, the staff opinions regarding the principal's leadership had shifted with far greater agreement about individual items. The overall percent agreement in 1985 was 49%. By 1989, the percent agreement had risen to 76%. Even with these shifts, it remained the lowest area of agreement among all the correlates assessed by the survey. The area with the most positive shifts centered on the principal's

observation of the classroom. In the past two years, the principal has been trained in the Essential Elements of Instruction (EEI), a clinical teaching model. The staff recognized the principal's expertise in this methodology and its use in his classroom observations. In other areas, opinions remained less positive.

On the one hand, the principal modeled the importance of growth and development by his own participation in the California School Leadership Academy, in becoming a trainer in EEI, participating in the Assessment Center run by the San Diego County Office of Education, and in assisting in countywide efforts to increase parent involvement by conducting workshops and organizing conferences. In other words, the principal has continued to update his own skills. The staff appreciated the fact that he was current with educational research and developments and through staff inservices had brought this information to the staff. On the other hand, all of this participation had taken the principal away from the school site. This lack of availability was reflected in the survey results in 1989. Table 5.8 compares the results of the staff's opinions of the principal's instructional leadership as reflected in the survey items in 1985 and in 1989. It reveals the areas of growth and the areas of slippage

Table 5.8

Comparison of Teacher Opinions on Instructional Leadership in 1985 and 1989 Based on the San Diego County Effective Schools Survey

Survey Item	Percent Agree	
	1985	1989
• Principal is active in promoting staff development	75%	96%
• Before formal observ. principal and teacher discuss what to observe	22	93
• Following formal observ. principal discusses observ. with teacher	33	96
• Classroom observations by principal focused on improving instruction	19	85
• Principal makes frequent classroom observations	26	63
• After formal observations, teacher and principal develop instructional improvement plan.	19	74
• Principal emphasizes meaning/use of standard test results with faculty	44	78
• Principal reviews and interprets test results with faculty	63	82
• Principal uses test results to modify and change the instructional prog.	41	46
• Instructional leadership from the principal is clear, strong, and central	37	58
• Instructional issues frequently the focus of staff meetings	56	48
• Principal makes frequent contacts with students and teachers	97	89
• Principal is highly visible throughout school	85	65

These survey results show the multiplicity of tasks that are subsumed under the heading of instructional leadership. Balancing all the tasks that must be done is a challenge, especially when asked by the district to assume a number of additional responsibilities as happened in the case of the principal of Sierra.

Tahoe Elementary: Healing Divisions, Stabilizing Leadership

The Setting

Tahoe Elementary, located five miles from the United States-Mexico border, is in a mixed area of single and multiple family residences and adjacent to an industrial and commercial area. The school was built in 1953 in the finger plan common to schools built in that era. The physical plant consists of a large cafeteria, a kindergarten complex of two classrooms, and five wings containing 22 self-contained classrooms and a library. The school serves 651 lower middle and low income students, many from single parent families. When both parents were present in the home, both of them usually worked outside the home. The ethnic distribution of the schools was approximately 23% White, not of Hispanic origin, 71% Hispanic, 4% Black, not of Hispanic origin, and 0.5 % Asian. Forty-seven percent of the students were limited or non-English speaking (LEP/NEP), and were receiving English as a second language instruction. The low income status of the school was reflected in the socio-economic index of 1.33, which was the lowest of all the schools in the study. The state average was 2.03. Twenty-three percent of the students received Aid to Families with Dependent Children, which was twice the rate in the district as a whole. The school population also had a high turnover. In the 1987-88 sixth grade class, only 29% of the students had been at the school since kindergarten and 31% of the students entered in the sixth grade. It is important to note, however, that the achievement results of the students who entered in sixth grade were similar to those who had been in the school since kindergarten. Mobility, thus, cannot directly be considered a factor in explaining the overall achievement results.

To meet the needs of this low-income population, the school received Chapter I, Chapter VII, State Compensatory Education funds and California School Improvement monies. Most of these resources were used to support extra personnel. In addition to the 22 regular classroom teachers, students received the full time services of a resource specialist, two Miller-Unruh Reading Specialists, and a bilingual resource teacher. The students had the part time services of a nurse, a librarian, a speech therapist, a psychologist, and 29 instructional aides.

Tahoe, located in the same district as Sierra, operated with the same support and constraints. The school had a change of principals in 1984 and again in 1986 when the principal who joined the staff in 1984 was promoted to a district office position. This rapid change in personnel did not make it easy to formulate and implement a school improvement plan. The current principal hoped he would stay long enough to see substantial growth and gains in student achievement.

Tahoe's student achievement levels in all content areas assessed by the California Assessment Program (CAP) remained low in both the third and sixth grade and were well below district and state averages. At the third grade there had been an increase in overall math scores, but not in reading or language arts. At the sixth grade, there were some modest gains in all areas. Table 5.9 compares the school's CAP scaled scores in reading, written language, and mathematics for third and sixth grade for the last three years with the district and the state scores. This table helps to put the school's scores in perspective and to show how the district scored in comparison to the state. As can be seen from the Table 5.9, the district consistently scored below the state at the third grade in reading and language arts, but above the state in mathematics. At the sixth grade level, the district's students scored

at or slightly above the state average in reading and language arts, and consistently above in mathematics.

Table 5.9

Three Year Comparison of Tahoe's Achievement Scores at Third and Sixth Grade Levels with District and State Scores on CAP

<u>Content Areas</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Scaled Scores</u>					
		<u>School</u>		<u>District</u>		<u>State</u>	
		3rd	6th	3rd	6th	3rd	6th
Reading	85-86	231	216	279	262	280	260
	86-87	233	210	276	262	282	260
	87-88	228	239	272	267	282	265
Written Language	85-86	228	228	282	275	285	271
	86-87	229	227	276	270	287	271
	87-88	224	239	274	274	284	273
Mathematics	85-86	226	213	296	280	283	268
	86-87	237	227	297	281	285	268
	87-88	242	249	298	278	281	270

Unlike Sierra, when scores were disaggregated by family occupation, all third grade students at each income level scored well below their counterparts at the district and state levels. At the sixth grade level the results were more mixed. When scores were disaggregated by family occupation, sixth grade scores were below the district levels for comparable groups, except for the semi-skilled group which was above in written

language. The unskilled group, which comprises 69% of the student population, scored slightly above the same group at the state level in reading and mathematics, but below the district in all content areas. At both the third and sixth grade level a large percentage of students were scoring in the bottom quartile. On all three of the criteria Tahoe remained a less effective school.

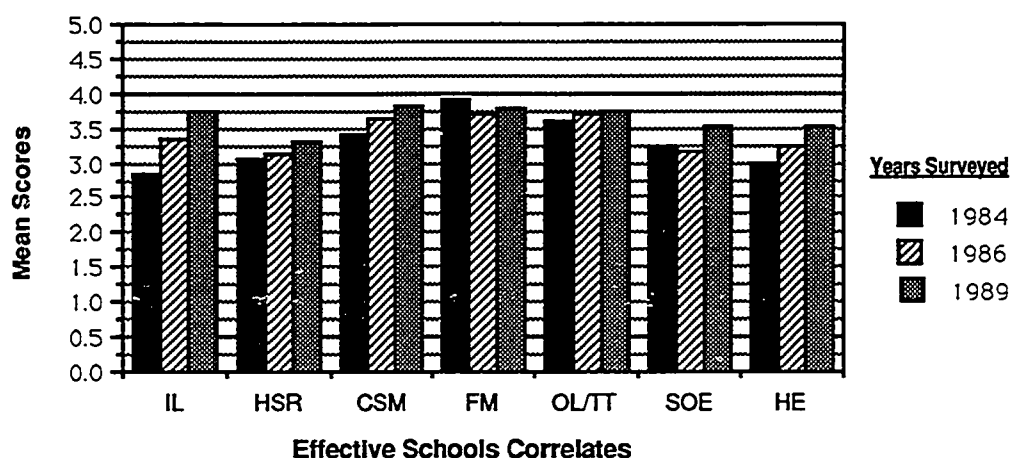
The school effectiveness program was initiated in 1984, when a new principal was assigned to the school and the staff and school site council at Tahoe decided to participate in the program. The school had the reputation of being the worst in the district. The principal saw the effective schools assessment as a way of identifying needs and focusing efforts. While the record indicated that the staff voted to participate, the interviews that were conducted in 1987 revealed that several of the staff members felt they were coerced to participate by the principal. The staff seemed to have been particularly threatened by the classroom time-on-task observations which were a part of the assessment process. The time-on-task observations were conducted by teachers from another school with whom the school had been paired. Some of the teachers from Tahoe, in turn, were trained and conducted the time-on-task audits at their paired school.

Figure 5.3 compares the teachers opinions for the three years that the effective schools surveys were given: 1984, 1986, and 1987. As can be seen from the graph, opinions in the latest survey shifted to a higher percent agree. As was learned from the case study of Sierra, however, more positive views regarding the effective schools correlates, did not mean an automatic increase in achievement scores. The very low percent agreement in 1984 and 1986, however, matched the very low achievement results in those years and did not bode well for accomplishing any gains in achievement. The

results in 1989 suggested the beginnings of a more positive view within the school. At the same time, the test scores at the sixth grade level also showed an upward trend.

Figure 5.3

Comparison of Mean Scores of Teacher Opinions on the Effective Schools Surveys Completed in 1984, 1987, and 1989



By examining in detail aspects of the school climate and culture, curriculum and instruction, and organizational structures and procedures, it was possible to identify areas that may be impeding increased student achievement.

School Climate and Culture

Tahoe was serving one of the largest concentrations of low income students of the eight schools in the study. Shasta, located in close proximity and in the same district as Tahoe, and Sequoia, located in a nearby district, were the other two schools serving similar populations. The challenges of

creating a culture of achievement and success were considerable for all three.

Safe and orderly learning environment. Improvement of the physical plant was one of the important changes that occurred at Tahoe. This change was initiated by the principal in 1985 and continued under the current administration. While only 48% agreed that the school buildings were neat, clean, and kept in good repair in 1985, 100% felt that they were in 1989. There were, however, still other significant issues in terms of school safety. Over 80% of the staff did not believe their property was secure and 57% felt vandalism was a problem. While most of the staff members felt the school was a safe and secure place to work, 32% did not feel it was safe after students were dismissed.

The school had a schoolwide discipline plan. Teachers reported that students were taught schools rules, they believed that students felt the rules were reasonable and appropriate. Teachers also generally agreed that students were held accountable for following school rules, and that teachers rewarded and praised students for following rules. In 1986, only 42% of the teachers felt that the principal supported them in dealing with discipline matters. Under the current principal, the 1989 survey revealed that 100% of the teachers agreed that the administration supported them in dealing with discipline. The number of discipline problems referred to the principals office was still seen as a problem. In the interviews, the principal confirmed the problem when he said:

There is a schoolwide discipline plan, however, I feel it needs to be redefined. A number of teachers deal with discipline problems in the

classroom, others are sending them to me. I am the disciplinarian. I am spending a significant amount of my time on discipline.

Two of the teachers supported the principal's view and acknowledged that he was playing a big role. One teacher said, "I've seen the principal used as disciplinarian rather than teachers doing it at their level. The discipline system is breaking down, teachers are using him as a leaning post."

Each year the effective schools surveys were given, there were more teachers who agreed that a positive school spirit permeated the school. In 1985, only 15% of the teachers agreed, in 1986, 31% agreed, and in 1989, 57% agreed that the school had a positive spirit. While the climate was improving, some important safety and discipline issues remained to be resolved before all teachers would fully agree that Tahoe had a safe and orderly learning environment.

Rewards and recognition. In the last two years the current principal expanded the amount of schoolwide recognition for students. Each month a Good Person Assembly was held. Teachers nominated students from their classes to receive recognition for both academic success and good behavior. Last year, the sixth grade teacher in charge of the student council was instrumental in implementing the Honor Student Award Program which was designed to recognize student efforts, growth, and improvement. In this regard, the program was distinct from more typical honor role programs which only acknowledge outstanding scholarship. Traditional spelling bees, writing contests and other academic competitions represented other ways the school recognized student achievement. Establishing a good recognition program for students was one important dimension of the school climate that Tahoe had improved.

Recognition of teacher efforts and instructional practices was not seen as a strong part of the culture. Teachers who were interviewed felt they were recognized for extra efforts such as serving on a committee, putting on a play, or organizing the school talent show. Most teachers felt they were not recognized for instructional expertise. One teacher commented that if a teacher was "selected to be trained to get ahead in the district administratively, they were given a lot of opportunity to do extra jobs and get recognized." Two other teachers expressed the view that quieter, but competent teachers who were everyday doing a good job in their classroom received little recognition. "It seems the louder you are the more recognition you get. It's unfortunate." These concerns about the lack of teacher recognition and who gets recognized were symptomatic of the divisions that existed among the staff. Several of the interviews surfaced feelings that the staff was divided into an *in group* and an *out group*. These divisions will be discussed more fully under the section on organizational structures and procedures.

High expectations. The effective schools surveys showed that high expectations for student achievement were not a prevalent part of the culture at Tahoe. In 1985, the overall percent agreement with the High Expectations correlate was 47%; in 1986 it was 48%, and in 1989, 61%. According to the survey in 1989, 80% of the teachers said they consistently held high academic expectations for students and that they expected students to be successful in school work. In 1986, 69% of the teachers said they were responsible for helping students achieve identified standards. By 1989, 95% of the staff felt they were responsible. This shift most likely was a reflection of the new emphasis of the district and site administration to hold teachers more accountable for student achievement.

Although teachers said they held high expectations, as in the case of Sierra, other survey items cast doubts about how high their expectations really were. Table 5.10 compares the responses to the surveys in 1986 and 1989, and shows that many teachers still held relatively low expectations both for themselves and for the ultimate success of their students.

Table 5.10

Comparison of Teacher Opinions on High Expectation in 1986 and 1989
Based on the San Diego County Effective Schools Survey

Survey Item	Percent Agree	
	1986	1989
• Teachers can successfully teach 90-95% in spite of homebackground	38%	75%
• Teachers expect most to do well on teacher prepared tests	50	65
• Teachers grade on achievement of subject, not behavior	77	67
• Teachers believe all students can achieve basic math	62	71
• Students can achieve identified standards regardless of home	39	58
• Teachers believe all students can achieve basic writing	46	62
• Teachers believe all students can achieve basic reading	50	72
• Students are given additional help until standards are achieved	56	57
• Low income/high income students retained proportionally.	23	27
• Teachers feel capable of helping all achieve identified standards	39	45
• Most teachers believe all students can achieve subject standards	50	45
• Over 90% expected to achieve identified standards	23	25
• Teachers expect students to do well on standardized tests	23	29
• Teachers expect over 95% will graduate from high school	8	15

The principal felt that expectations had improved. The data in Table 5.10 confirmed his view that expectations had increased in a number of areas. By 1989, a higher percentage of teachers believed that all students could achieve basic skills in reading, writing, and mathematics. Teachers' low expectations for student performance on standardized tests and their feelings of inadequacy in helping all students achieve the identified standards, however, remained to be addressed. Research on teacher expectations and student achievement has indicated that considerably less was often expected of students in low tracks (Evertson, 1980). Once patterns of expectations get set they seemed to be difficult to alter. Brophy (1982) states, "Low expectations are likely to become entrenched norms that channel teacher and student behavior without ever being seriously questioned" (p. 64).

In many respects, the staff perceived Tahoe as a low track school. The principal highlighted this problem by explaining that a number of teachers, especially a core that has recently left the school, had the attitude of "Look how great we are, working with these poor kids." The principal went on to say, "Yet they held very low expectations for them, especially in the academic area and were actually pulling them [the students] down." Even though most of the teachers that held this view have left, the school still suffers an inferiority complex. During the interviews, several teachers described the school as being rock bottom in the district. One teacher stated that he believed parents held higher expectations than the teachers. Another teacher who had been trained in TESA and other programs about expectations, commented that she needed constant reminders to keep her expectations high. "I love them dearly, I see them coming in the way they

do, and I know I have been guilty of not expecting them to do their best. Teachers have been lowering expectations because of children's home background. I'd like to change that mentality." This quote helps to show the close link between teacher expectations for student achievement and home-school relations. The next section addresses home-school relations and demonstrates just how closely these two correlates are intertwined at Tahoe.

Home-school relations. This is clearly an area of frustration for the school staff. During the interview, the principal lamented that if Tahoe "was a magnet school, it could be labeled the School for Dysfunctional Families. There is a heartbreak a minute at this school." He said that he felt many parents could not support the school's mission or their children because they were so needy themselves. Prevalent in both interviews and surveys was the notion that Tahoe was a low track, low performing school because its children were from low income parents. The schools low expectations for students were matched by their low expectations for parents.

Similar to the high expectations correlate, home-school relations was consistently an area of low agreement. Since the first survey in 1985, staff views, changed very little. The total percent agreement with the home-school relations correlate was 45% in 1985, 41% in 1986, and 53% in 1989. Table 5.11 compares staff responses in 1986 with the responses on the 1989 survey. The comparisons show the areas of greatest change, the areas of highest agreement that an action was taking place, and the areas that teachers felt were problems. Teachers were very positive about their own behavior and efforts in reaching out to parents. From their perspective, the problem resided with the parents.

Table 5.11

Comparison of Teacher Opinions on Home-School Relations in 1986 and 1989 Based on the San Diego County Effective Schools Survey

Survey Item	Percent Agree	
	1986	1989
• Teachers use many ways to communicate with parents	100	100%
• Parent-teacher conferences relate to student achievement	80	90
• Parents are invited and attend school activities	73	95
• Teachers contact parents on a regular basis	61	80
• Parent-teacher conferences result in specific plans for cooperation	69	75
• Parent organization is considered important by administration	65	75
• Parents are aware of the discipline policy	61	65
• Most parents support school when child is disciplined for misbehavior	56	80
• Teachers and parents are aware of the homework policy	48	72
• There is cooperation between parents/teachers re homework monitoring	31	55
• There is an active parent group	35	60
• Teachers invite parents to observe the instructional program	43	43
• Teachers communicate with parents about the good more than bad	12	33
• 90% to 100% parents attend scheduled parent-teacher conferences	27	48
• Students homework is monitored at home	16	35
• Almost all students complete assigned homework	16	34
• Most parents have a clear understanding of school goals	31	25
• Most parents would rate this school as superior	8	20
• Parents frequently initiate contact with classroom teachers	19	29
• 75% plus parents attend open house/back to school night	8	20
• Most parents are aware of the instructional objectives	10	12
• Parents and or community members are frequent volunteers	12	15

While there was a shift to the positive on almost all items, the percent agreement remained low in many critical areas. The staff believed that parents were not well informed about school goals and instructional

objectives. They felt that most parents were not participating in significant events like back-to-school night and parent-teacher conferences. The staff stated that they were communicating in many different ways with parents, but they also acknowledged that they communicated more about the bad than the good. They believed that parents did not hold the school in high regard.

Even though the communication and involvement problems were identified in the survey in 1985, and again in 1986, the 1989 survey and interviews indicated that little had been done to address these issues. Based on the interviews, most teachers indicated that they had not altered the ways they were working with parents or that they were now making more contacts with them. In discussing homework, one of the teachers recognized that other schools were doing more to link home and school. She said:

Homework is sent by the teachers. I know that parents help, but I can't honestly tell you how much they help. It is not uniform throughout the school. I know at other schools it is more systematic such as having a yellow folder on Monday with four pages of homework due on Friday. We don't do that.

The principal and bilingual coordinator mentioned that they were conducting more home visits; however, the primary focus of the visits was to discuss problems such as excessive absences. The principal indicated that home-school relations was going to be one of his priority areas for the 1989-90 school year. He stated that the core leadership team was looking at ways resources might be allocated to work more effectively with families. Tahoe's staff viewed its families as problems rather than resources. As long as families were seen as the problem, expectations for their support and their actual support remained low. The principal expressed a desire for parents to

be actively involved on the School Site Council and PTA. He felt, however, that such involvement was unlikely. Lessons from Whitney and Sierra demonstrated that the focus needed to be on improving communications, especially positive ones with parents, if parental support was to be increased.

Shared mission. On the 1986 and 1989 surveys, the staff agreed that the school had a written statement of purpose and that it focused on learning and achievement. In the interviews, however, most teachers said they could not remember what was the mission. One teacher commented, "The mission has been written up so many times, but I don't really remember it." When asked to state the mission in their own words, articulation of the mission varied from "Expect the Best" to have an orderly environment that is safe where children can do optimum learning. One teacher said that the mission of the district was to raise test scores, but that he did not agree with this mission. He thought the primary goal of the school should be to help children get along well together. The very diverse articulations of the mission showed that the staff did not have a shared mission. The long history of cliques in this school no doubt contributed to the lack of a shared mission. Unlike the staff at Whitney and Yosemite, the staff had not participated in a "We Agree" process or any other team building activity that would have helped it to develop a mission.

Curriculum and Instruction

Since Sierra and Whitney were in the same district, the curriculum strengths and problems were similar. For example, both schools shared the experience in 1988-89 of implementing a new math textbook and receiving the pacing and curriculum alignment materials too late in the school year to

be helpful. Both had the same kind of district help in analyzing test scores with the same consequences of not developing staff expertise in test data analysis. There were also some critical differences between the two schools, especially in the area of staff development and academic focus.

Use of test scores. The interviews at Tahoe revealed a great deal of disagreement about test scores, their importance, and their use. Like the staff at Sierra, Tahoe's staff felt there was increasing pressure to improve test results. The new district superintendent was unwilling to accept the status quo just because Tahoe was serving a very low income student population. When asked what role test scores play, one teacher replied: "They are used to hold over our heads." Another said, "They are used to harangue us." The principal said, "They are the bottom line. Our esteem as a school is perceived on the basis, unfortunately, of student performance as measured by test scores." Like the staff at most schools in the study, over half of the staff at Tahoe consistently stated that the California Assessment Program was not a valid measure. Only at Whitney was there a significant positive shift in staff opinions regarding this question.

The three effective schools surveys showed that, in general, the two principals had consistently reviewed and interpreted test results with the faculty. In 1985, 66% said the principal reviewed them, in 1986, 92% agree, and in 1989, 86%. There was slightly less agreement that the two principals emphasized the meaning and use of test results. In 1986, 69% of the staff agreed that this was done; in 1989, 90% said the current principal was emphasizing their use. In 1986, 58% and in 1989, 63% of the staff said the principal was using the test results to modify the instructional program. Of those interviewed, 60% of the staff and the principal said that teachers were

not using them to modify the instructional program. Those who indicated they were being used, cited the staff's involvement in the San Diego Writing Project as a example of their use.

Like Sierra, the staff had not used test results to align its curriculum. The staff also had not made much use of testwiseness materials. This year before the test, orange juice was served to the students. However, consistent use of such materials as Scoring High, Bell Works, Excel Math, or Short Shots to prepare students for the tests were not evident. The previous principal had purchased Scoring High, but it was never implemented before he left. The current principal did not discover the materials existence until late in the school year. One staff member commented: "This year it was pulled off the shelf, dusted off, and distributed a month before the test which wasn't long enough to change anything."

Whitney, Sierra, and Tahoe this year engaged in a systematic process of analyzing individual pupil results for diagnostic purposes. The result of the activity, however, produced quite different results in the three schools which reflect important differences in culture and expectations. At Whitney, the principal had the first and second grade teachers identify the 15 lowest achieving students in their grades, decide what skills these students needed to master, and identify possible strategies for helping them master them. He felt that just as a result of the discussion itself, these students probably experienced the classroom in a more positive light because the teachers would be more sensitive to their needs. He said that part of his role was to constantly focus on the bottom group and ask teachers how they were meeting its needs. This approach seemed to work for three reasons. First, the principal and staff chose a reasonable number of students to assist. Second, the assistance was provided against a backdrop of teacher attitudes

that accepted responsibility for educating all children. Third, the staff looked at what needed to be changed in the curriculum, not what was wrong or needed to be changed in the children by outside resource personnel. One staff members summarized the issue this way:

Achievement of minorities, single families—we have not isolated them per se and targeted them as high risk students. We have looked at the concept of high risk students and we have grouped all children together as being all entitled to a fair and equal education. All children can be educated regardless of their home environment—that's the premise of effective schools. We've looked at weak areas within the curriculum and said how can we improve (emphasis added).

At Sierra and Tahoe this year the principal and each teacher went through a similar process, but they examined the cumulative folders of all their students. Deficiencies were identified. "We said what is it that we are really lacking, is it this or that—oral language, help in testwiseness, monitoring more closely the child's progress, children at risk. We looked at everything and followed up with the Learning Screening Team." From the perspective of several other teachers at both schools, several problems surfaced with this approach. First, the staff was trying to address the needs to too many students. The task seemed more than the teachers could handle. Second, they felt that they did not have sufficient resource personnel to follow through. At Tahoe, in particular, many students were referred to the psychologist for testing or to Learning Screening Team for review which produced an overload and backlog of cases.* Third, there was little

* It is interesting to note, that this problem of sending many students to the Learning Screening Team also existed at Whitney. The principal said that teachers would get angry if students they referred were not given a special educational placement. Now it is no longer a problem. Teachers first exhaust all means in their classroom, then come to the team to find out what

indication that the teachers focused on what needed to be changed in the curriculum at the classroom level to better meet student needs. One teacher at Sierra also expressed frustration at the lack of follow-up by resource personnel. However, at Sierra, students with the greatest needs were referred to the intersession program during the year-round school breaks where they received intensive small group help. This program had two benefits. First, the staff felt that the program addressed the skills that these students were missing, thus helping them to catch up. Second, several of the teachers who worked in the program had the opportunity to get to know these students much better, to appreciate their strengths, and to develop more positive attitudes about their ability to learn which they carried back to the regular classroom setting. No such opportunities were available for the students or teachers at Tahoe. This comparison helps to illustrate that what appears to be a similar act, using test scores to diagnose students' learning needs, can have different consequences depending on the school's culture, curriculum, instructional practices, and organizational structures. The merit or appropriateness of a solution to a problem needs to be evaluated within the context of the school's environment.

Academic focus. The staff at Tahoe stated that they wanted students to learn, but a consistent sense of what and how much students were to learn did not emerge from the interviews. The survey responses in 1986 and 1989 indicated that there were written standards in all major curricular areas, however, standards of mastery were not specified. Only 31% of the staff agreed that students must achieve identified standards. A comparison of the

additional strategies they might need to try in the classroom, and, finally, in very rare cases ask for additional assistance or an alternate placement.

survey responses on the clear school mission correlate in 1986 and 1989 revealed that problems identified in 1986 still persisted in 1989. Over fifty percent of the staff identified the following problems:

- instructional decisions were not based on the statement of purpose
- students were not estimating answers, using mental arithmetic, or doing sufficient problem solving
- textbooks and materials did not support learning objectives
- teachers were not accountable for skills/concepts in course outline
- students were not accountable for clear/accurate writing in all subjects
- social studies materials were not matched to reading abilities.

The most recent Program Quality Review conducted in March 1988, supported the need to address these issues. For example, the report suggested the need to emphasize problem solving and the use of manipulatives in the math curriculum, provide more direct instruction in the writing process, purchase more Spanish language books, explore resources available through the district and county that would enhance the existing history-social science programs, and strengthen the articulation between grade levels in all areas.

To meet the requirements of the School Improvement Program, the school developed a three year plan for each major curriculum area. In general, the plan was to implement the district's curriculum. Based on comments from the interviews, there currently seemed to be two areas of academic focus: writing and English Language for Limited English Proficient Student. (ELEPS). The total staff had participated in the San Diego Writing Project as a result of the recommendations for improvement in the Program Quality Review. Several of the staff members who were interviewed, seemed quite enthusiastic about this staff development

program. One teacher, in particular, commented on the fact that the training had been done by district presenters, "but it was on our campus and with our kids. It was more meaningful and more likely to have an impact." The ELEPS program had also been initiated at the school, but not all teachers were trained or were using the program to address the needs of limited English proficient students. One teacher expressed the concern that although we know we should be using ELEPS, there does not seem to be a way for the whole staff to come together and say, "We will do this." The efforts in both writing and ELEPS represented important first steps in bringing more focus to the academic program. The interviews and open-ended responses to the survey questions indicated the staff would like to see such a focus continue.

Frequent monitoring and evaluation of students and programs. A review of the items that encompass the frequent monitoring correlate revealed that monitoring of pupil progress was in place. All agreed that multiple methods were used to assess student progress, and that test results were used to diagnose student strengths and weaknesses. Most teachers (80%) agreed that reteaching and remediation were important parts of the instructional process, and 70% of the staff say they use test results to plan reteaching. Most teachers also gave students specific feedback on assignments and tests.

Parents were not asked to complete a survey; therefore, it is not known if they felt they were kept adequately informed on how their children were doing. The teacher frustrations that were revealed in responses to the home-school relations correlate indicated that there was not sufficient reporting of

pupil progress, particularly in regard to what students were to learn and how well they were learning.

Teachers felt there was monitoring of them through classroom observations and through the annual review of their Stull Bill Objectives. The new superintendent was requiring principals to do more formal classroom observations which would increase individual teacher monitoring. One teacher commented that the superintendent himself was getting involved. "The superintendent came dashing in to make his evaluation of two teachers. It had nothing to do with curriculum or teaching, but with behavior and classroom order and discipline."

The surveys and interviews indicated that close monitoring of the instructional program did not occur. One teacher felt that it was difficult to monitor the program if one was not a curriculum expert. The principal acknowledged that monitoring the program was one of the weak areas of his management and that he was working to improve. Next year he planned more frequent reviews of certain practices such as grouping practices or teaming efforts. He also saw the core leadership team that he created as playing a more active role in the monitoring process.

The lack of monitoring resulted in programs that were undertaken with much enthusiasm and effort only to be dropped after a year or two. One teacher described how many staff members had participated in a district initiated drug training program, "got it going with great fire, and then it just died. No one tells any one they need to teach it." Another teacher described a similar incident in regard to science.

About two years ago we got a new science program. I happen to be on the science selection team. I went to all the meetings, piloted a program and learned all about it. But after the program was chosen, it wasn't the

one I wanted and piloted. Then everyone had to use the one selected. I think a lot of people weren't happy with it and thought the other one was better. It is the same thing with the math program. We have inservices on the new program, but no one is looking to see if the program is being implemented or is effective. Once materials are purchased, that's it for the next seven years. No one really wants to know if they are any good.

Monitoring of the instructional program at Tahoe was hindered by the lack of curriculum committees that were assigned the responsibility to monitor, check implementation problems, and evaluate new curriculum efforts. The School Site Council at Tahoe was also a very weak group that did not play an active role in monitoring and evaluating the school site plan. Some monitoring and evaluation was done on AB 777 staff development days, but the process did not seem to be as systematic and thorough compared to Sierra and Whitney.

Evidence from Whitney, Sierra, and other schools in the study indicated that to successfully bring about curriculum changes required ongoing monitoring of school programs, review and modification at regular intervals, organization of additional staff development, if necessary, and a willingness to stick with a new program long enough to have an impact on student achievement. The changes of leadership at Tahoe in 1984 and again in 1986 no doubt made it more difficult to develop a consistent academic focus and stay with it long enough to see a payoff in terms of student achievement.

While the loft system at Sierra created some barriers and problems, two of the lofts were, at least, monitoring and evaluating of their programs. One strength of the lofts was the speed with which curriculum and instructional strategies learned at staff development inservices were implemented; the

lofts provided a natural coaching and support system for teachers trying to learn new skills. Whitney, with self-contained classrooms, had developed its monitoring system through curriculum committees and active and cohesive grade level teams. Tahoe currently lacked these or other mechanisms to monitor and evaluate the instructional changes it is trying to implement.

Opportunity to learn and time-on-task. All schools seemed to struggle with the issue of optimizing the learning time and keeping the classroom free from interruptions. The survey results, however, showed that there was a continuum. Whitney, the school with the best third grade academic results as measured by CAP, also had the least disagreement on several key items dealing with opportunity to learn and use of learning time. Table 5.12 presents the results of the 1989 surveys from Whitney, Sierra, and Tahoe and compares staff responses on a number of key items.

As can be seen from Table 5.12, in almost all areas, Whitney had the highest percent agree on the items in this correlate, but the staff still felt there were too many times when the instructional program was interrupted to discipline students and that pull-out programs disrupted basic skills instruction. At both Whitney and Sierra, however, the staff generally felt that the special programs were coordinated with the regular instructional program. Only 62% of the teachers at Tahoe felt the coordination existed.

Table 5.12

Comparison of Teacher Opinions on Opportunity to Learn Based on the
1989 San Diego County Effective Schools Surveys Given at Whitney,
Sierra, and Tahoe

Survey Item	Percent Agree		
	<u>Whitney</u>	<u>Sierra</u>	<u>Tahoe</u>
• Special instructional programs coordinated with curriculum and instruction	90%	83%	62%
• Class begins promptly	85	96	85
• Students learning until the end of the instructional period	90	96	76
• This school has a written homework policy	95	74	65
• Homework is regularly assigned	100	100	90
• Students receive immediate feedback/suggestions on homework	95	77	70
• Fifty minutes or more for math each day	100	74	50
• Two hour or more for reading/language arts each day	95	81	75
• Essential skills are mastered before next learning task	75	55	39
• Classroom instruction is free from outside maintenance interruptions	85	59	30
• Basic skill time consistently followed in each classroom	95	81	52
• Basic skill instruction is free from interruptions	60	48	33
• Class is rarely interrupted to discipline students	50	71	45
• Pull-out programs don't disrupt basic skill instruction	35	7	20

Staff Development. A comparison of the 1986 and 1989 survey results indicated that the staff held more positive opinions about staff development in 1989. Table 5.13 compares the 1986 responses regarding staff development with those given in 1989 and shows the items where most changes have occurred.

Table 5.13

Comparison of Teacher Opinions on Staff Development in 1986 and 1989
Based on the San Diego County Effective Schools Survey

Survey Item	Percent Agree	
	1986	1989
• Principal emphasizes participation in staff development activities	80%	90%
• Principal active in promoting staff development	66	85
• There is a staff development program based on school goals	53	90
• Principal and staff plan the staff development program	39	55
• Primary focus of staff devel.—increase knowledge of topic	39	95
• Primary focus of staff development—acquisition of new skills	27	75
• There is follow-up assistance by administration to support staff development skills	27	53
• Staff development evaluated on evidence of use in classroom	23	40

In spite of more positive opinions on the survey, Tahoe did not have the same level of staff development that was found at Sierra. As mentioned

previously, staff members at Sierra were physically separated by the loft system. In the last three years, the staff development program served as a uniting and directing force in the school. Even without the physical separation, the staff at Tahoe seemed to be fragmented. They were divided into cliques by attitude, length of tenure at the school, relations with the principal, involvement with the bilingual program, and whether or not they saw themselves in the *in or the out group*. Unlike Sierra, Tahoe had not had an extensive staff development program at the school site that could bring the staff together. Teachers received staff development, mostly at workshops at the district office or the county office of education. At both Sierra and Whitney comments were made about the schools' own staff members who were now providing staff development for their colleagues. In contrast, the staff at Tahoe was not involved in the school's own staff development.

A good precedent for schoolwide, school-based staff development was set at Tahoe with training in the writing process. Based on the interviews, though, there was no indication that the school had plans for more whole school staff development efforts targeted to identified needs. One staff member explained why this was the approach the school needed to take when she said, "You can go to wonderful conferences in the district or miles away, but it is very difficult to come back and get that assimilated into the regular program." Based on the interview and survey data, the Tahoe staff viewed staff development more positively in 1989 than in 1986, but staff development was still not a strong component compared to the programs at Sierra and Whitney.

Organizational Structures and Procedures

The current principal acknowledged that his approach was to come in and take charge, to make the decisions that he felt needed to be made to get the school moving forward. He solicited input from teachers, but he selected the teachers. He felt that this more autocratic approach was necessary because of the divisiveness and cliques among the staff. During his first year, he eliminated the Quality Circle Group because it was "just a bitch session, and very negative." He announced that he was in control of the school. He eliminated split contracts (i.e., teachers sharing a position), revamped the retention procedures and the referral process to the Learning Screening Team. He set up criteria for team teaching allowing only two teachers to team. He found that with multiple teaming, students were being sent in many directions with little consistency and follow through. Approximately five or six teachers left at the end of the principal's first year. This gave him the opportunity to bring in some new staff members.

Shared-decision making and collaboration. In 1988-89, the principal began experimenting with ways to involve the staff in the decision making process. To give the staff more say, he appointed a core leadership team composed of a representative from each grade level who was selected by the grade level teachers. This group was conducting a thorough review of the school and was given the opportunity to visit exemplary programs in other schools. This group was to develop an improvement plan and bring it to the entire staff for consideration. According to the principal, the teachers who were serving on the committee felt this was the most power they had ever been given. From informal discussions with two of teachers who were serving on the committee, it was clear they felt quite excited about the

process. No one who was formally interviewed for this study was serving on the committee. By design those who were selected for interview were teachers who had been at the school through the past three administrations. The new core leadership committee seemed to be comprised of teachers who were new to the school.

Several problems surfaced during the interviews in regard to this committee. First, the staff members who were not on the committee had little information about what the committee was considering in terms of changes for the school. This produced some concern and mistrust of their work. Second, there was no formal process for receiving input from the rest of the staff either prior to or during the process. The teachers interviewed, who were not on the committee, felt left out of the process. They knew they would have the final vote on the plan, but there was a sense that this would be a pro forma vote. Third, the core committee of grade level representatives was not supported by regular grade level teams or curriculum committees to whom they reported and who reviewed the plans. Thus, there was no parallel or pyramid structure that extended the involvement to the entire staff. The responses to the open-ended questions on the survey about the school's strengths and weaknesses further confirmed that the process created an in group and an out group. Some teachers saw the committee as a strength and as helping to evaluate programs and set priorities. Other teachers saw the committee as divisive and stated that the school needed more staff input, unity, team spirit, and for "changes to be discussed with the total staff instead of a select few."

The principal created an emerging process for shared decision making and collaboration. His intentions for the fall of 1989 were to implement more consistent grade level meetings and to change the format of the staff

meetings "from me just spilling out information items to seeking input and leading discussions in a more consensus achieving format." If these changes were made they could help build the unity and involvement that staff members who were feeling left out would like to see.

An issues that appeared to be unresolved was: if the core team is now developing an improvement plan, what role does the school site council play? Nor was it clear how the new plan will be merged with the current school improvement plan on which all staff members had worked in 1986. These were not insurmountable problems, but little thought seemed to have been given to how to prevent the establishment of new cliques in the school. The principal and staff had not thought through the relationships and working structures that were now in place and what was needed in the future to enable the school to accomplish its goals.

Communication. The principal disbanded the Quality Circle Group because he felt it created more negative than positive communications. That decision represented an important insight into the critical role that structures and procedures play in promoting or inhibiting communications. The principal most likely was correct in his assessment of the situation; however, alternative systems needed to be installed. New communication structures seemed to have been slow in emerging or in being created at Tahoe. The lack of communication channels such as grade level teams, or curricular committees, made it difficult for Tahoe's staff to develop consensus on goals and objectives.

Instructional Leadership

Over the period in which the effective schools surveys were completed by the staff, instructional leadership was one of the lowest areas of agreement. When the staff completed the survey in 1985, the principal was new. On many items the faculty marked the column "don't know." However, even on the first survey, there were many who indicated disagreements with statements such as, the principal is highly visible, the principal is available to discuss instructional matters, the principal provides strong, clear instructional leadership, and instructional issues are the focus of faculty meetings. The overall percent agree was 37% and the percent disagree 42%.

Approximately a year later the staff completed the survey again. Opinions shifted slightly to the positive with 48% in agreement and 25% in disagreement. In the fall of 1986, the new principal assumed the leadership role at Tahoe. Although interviews were conducted with the staff in 1987 as part of the previous effective schools study, the principal did not feel it was appropriate to readminister the survey. The survey was completed by the staff in late spring of 1989. The results showed that the current principal was beginning to solidify a working relationship with the staff. The total percent agree rose to 71% and total disagree fell to 20%. These figures indicated that the principal was building a good working relationship with most of the staff. Table 5.14 compares the results for the 1986 survey with those in 1989. It shows the areas where the current principal had introduced some changes, and indicates the staff was more certain about the leadership of the school. The survey results also highlight some areas of disagreement.

Table 5.14

Comparison of Teacher Opinions on Instructional Leadership in 1986 and 1989 Based on the San Diego County Effective Schools Survey

Survey Item	Percent Agree	
	1986	1989
• Principal reviews and interprets test results with faculty	92%	86%
• Principal emphasizes meaning/use of standard test results	69	90
• Principal encourages teachers to accept student achiev responsibility	77	95
• Principal and faculty can solve most problems	69	75
• Before formal obsers., principal and teacher discuss observation	35	70
• Following formal observation principal discusses obs. with teacher	58	79
• Classroom observations by principal focused on improving instruction	38	75
• Principal makes several classroom observations each year	50	60
• After formal obs., teacher and principal develop instruct improv plan	31	55
• Principal is highly visible throughout school	62	83
• Principal makes frequent contacts with students and teachers	46	100
• Principal is accessible to discuss instructional matters	62	85
• Principal initiates test results to modify/change the instruct program	58	63
• Instructional leadership from the principal is clear, strong, and central	27	50
• Instructional issues frequently the focus of staff meetings	31	57
• Administrative leadership available for disagreements among staff	38	67
• Principal seeks ideas and suggestions from staff	46	70
• Administrative leadership effective in resolving education problems	43	55
• Principal initiates effective coordination of instructional program	39	45

There is no doubt that the two changes of principal's in 1984 and 1986 slowed the potential for the school to improve. Conditions at the school were not good in terms of the outcome for students or the teaching and learning environment for staff and students in 1984. Since 1984, growth has occurred in all areas, but not sufficiently to impact student achievement. The current principal moved to expand the number of staff members who would be involved in problem analysis and decision making at the school. On the whole, the responses in the interviews and on the open-ended responses survey in 1989 indicated that staff members saw the expansion of the leadership team as a positive step. Some teachers, however, felt excluded from the process and were not sure about the types of changes that the new leadership team would recommend. The principal was aware of the lack of trust of some of the faculty members, and that some were very suspicious of the process. He felt that trust would grow with time as these teachers saw progress being made.

The principal had a vision of where he wanted the school to be. He knew the vision had not been realized but felt he and the staff were moving in the right direction. He seemed to have been effective in communicating his vision to some of the teachers and in selecting other teachers who shared it. Learning how to build a communications network and to enhance faculty support through greater involvement remained future agenda items. During the interview, the principal commented that he had learned some important lessons about involvement and his own leadership approach.

I shared the real fear that many administrators have in letting go because you know your are held responsible. I don't want to go to the superintendent and say the teachers voted and well That won't make it. But I also know I want their involvement in rational,

reasonable decision making. If they are involved, they are likely to show me rational and reasonable things that I hadn't thought of before. Part of the effective schools research has shown me that I need to be a risk-taker and let go of a bit of the autocratic control. The interesting thing is that I am finding as I let go I am actually feeling more in control, and I am gaining support. I flubbed up on the expenditures on the lottery money. I should have put it in writing. I thought I had put it in writing, but I didn't. Someone started complaining about it in the lounge. Another teacher came to my defense and said that 'he said that in staff meeting.' Several others spoke up in support. Six months ago I wouldn't have had anyone come to my defense. They are also realizing as they get involved that this is a difficult job.

Yosemite Elementary: Coping with the Impact of Tracking

The Setting

Yosemite Elementary, located in a rapidly growing section of north coastal San Diego County, was dramatically impacted by increasing student enrollments. The district in 1989 had an enrollment of 4,520 students and consisted of seven elementary schools with an eighth school scheduled to open in the winter of 1990. Yosemite in the 1988-89 school year had 750 kindergarten through sixth grade students enrolled in a four track year-round school. The student body consisted of students from a wide range of family backgrounds from upper middle class to unskilled migrant workers. Of all of the schools in the study, Yosemite had the highest socioeconomic index at 2.47 and the lowest percent of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (2%). It should be noted that the low percent of AFDC recipients may be due to the fact that many immigrant families (undocumented aliens) do not claim AFDC because of fear of jeopardizing their immigration status.

The percent of students falling into each parent occupation category as reported on the 1988 sixth grade California Assessment Program Report was as follows: professional 42%, semiprofessional 23%, skilled/semiskilled 14% and unskilled 15%. Since 1983, there was a steady increase in the number of students whose parents fell in the professional category from 24% to 47%. This shift paralleled the rising house prices in the area. Approximately 12% of the students were non-English speaking.

The school was built in the 1950s and the physical plant consisted of 27 regular classrooms, two classrooms used for special education, a media/library center, and a room for the resource specialist. There were 31 certificated teachers, two of whom were special education teachers. The

regular staff was assisted by a part time math teacher, and two full time Miller Unruh reading specialists, and an aide who worked in the math and reading lab and served students who scored below the 25th percentile on the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS). The school also had a full time librarian, the part time services of a nurse and district psychologist, and two instrumental music teachers. The school had six bilingual teachers and ten classroom aides. The Gifted and Talented Program served 29% of the students.

The school received categorical funding from a variety of sources, including \$46, 935 for the School Improvement Program. In recent years the school suffered a decline in funds which greatly impacted the math lab and reading program, reducing the math resource teacher from full time to part time. In the 1989-90, school year there will be even further cutbacks because of enrollment shifts.

In a recent study of effective districts (Pollack et al., 1987), Yosemite's district was classified as an effective district. The student population at Yosemite was representative of the district's population as a whole, except that there were fewer children from unskilled parent occupations in the whole district (e.g. 7% versus 15% at Yosemite). Based on the 1988 results of the California Assessment Program for both third and sixth grades, students from each parent occupation category consistently scored above their counterparts in the state. The district was recognized in the county as outstanding for its curriculum alignment efforts, excellent staff development programs, careful teacher selection procedures, and extensive training provided for administrators. All of these factors have helped this district to achieve both excellence and equity in many of its schools. The one problem area for the district has been meeting the needs of its limited English

speaking students. This problem surfaced in the interviews conducted for the effective district study and in the previous interviews conducted at Yosemite in December 1986. The difficulty of the district in accepting responsibility for addressing the needs of the limited and non-English speaking students reflected the problems the community had in accepting the Hispanic population. Many of the Hispanics were workers in the regions' flower and vegetable fields or household workers for the affluent population. The issue of meeting the needs of the limited English speaking students impacted the program, staff, and students at Yosemite over the last five years.

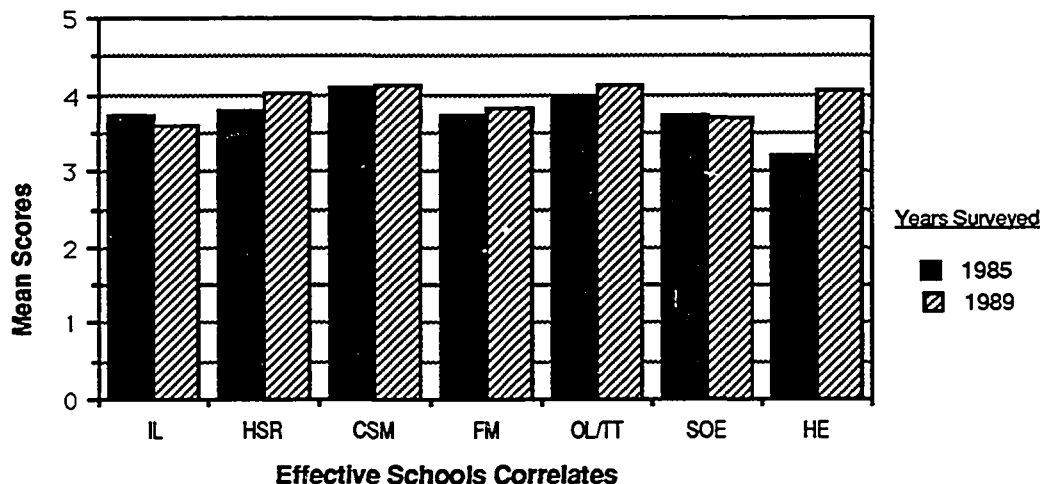
In the winter of 1989, a new principal was assigned to Yosemite, but during the period of this study, the school was under the leadership of a principal who came to the school in the summer of 1983. The survey and interview results reflect his tenure at the school. Soon after assuming the leadership of the school, the principal asked the county office of education for assistance in conducting an effective schools study. He saw the process as a good way to identify student needs and focus the efforts of the staff. The principal, staff, aides, and parents all completed the Connecticut School Effectiveness instruments (the assessment instruments used when the county initiated its program and before it developed its own). Yosemite was one of the first schools in the county that asked to participate. Compared to other schools in the study, Yosemite's overall achievement results were not low. The school exemplified one of the concerns often expressed about voluntary school effectiveness or improvement programs: the schools that most need it never volunteer and the ones that least need it are always the first to volunteer. However, the principal was very concerned about the instructional program the school offered low achieving students who, as he

described the situation, "are most in need of high quality professional help and yet were receiving all of their extra help from aides who had no training in working with children scoring below grade level." Yosemite represents a good case study of how organizational changes impacted student achievement and derailed school effectiveness efforts and student achievement gains. This case study also adds insights into the influence of tracking on student achievement.

Figure 5.4 presents the results of staff surveys completed in 1985 and 1989 (mean scores for 1983 were no longer available). It shows that there were minor shifts in opinions both up and down in the mean scores. The correlate with the most significant change was high expectations which rose from a mean of 3.2 in 1985 to 4.01 in 1989. The reason why there was not a more positive shift as seen in the other case study schools will become more obvious as all the dimensions of school effectiveness are discussed.

Figure 5.4

Comparison of Mean Scores of Teacher Opinions on the Effective Schools Surveys Completed in 1985 and 1989



Figures 5.5 and 5.6 present the third and sixth grade CAP results since 1983 in reading, written language, and mathematics. The graph shows that in 1986-7 there was a dip in achievement in reading and written language, but not in mathematics. The results from 1986-87 represent the impact of the implementation of a four track year-round school program in which all gifted students were placed on one track and all limited English speaking students were placed on another track. Figure 5.7 presents the third and sixth grade CAP achievement results for students from unskilled families before and after the tracking system was implemented. As can be seen, the school achieved significant gains prior to the introduction of the four track year-round schedule, but in the next two years its lowest income students slipped. In 1987-88, the scaled scores of third and sixth grade students from unskilled families began to improve again, except in third grade math which

declined again. The impact of implementing a segregated four track schedule on school programs and on staff will be more fully discussed below.

Figure 5.5

Five Year Trend in Yosemite's Third Grade CAP Scores

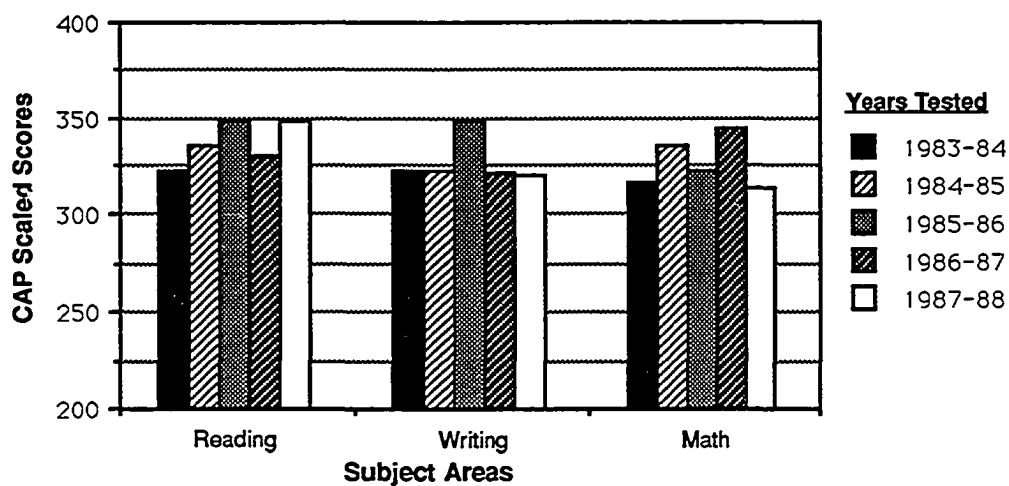


Figure 5.6

Five Year Trend in Yosemite's Sixth Grade CAP Scores

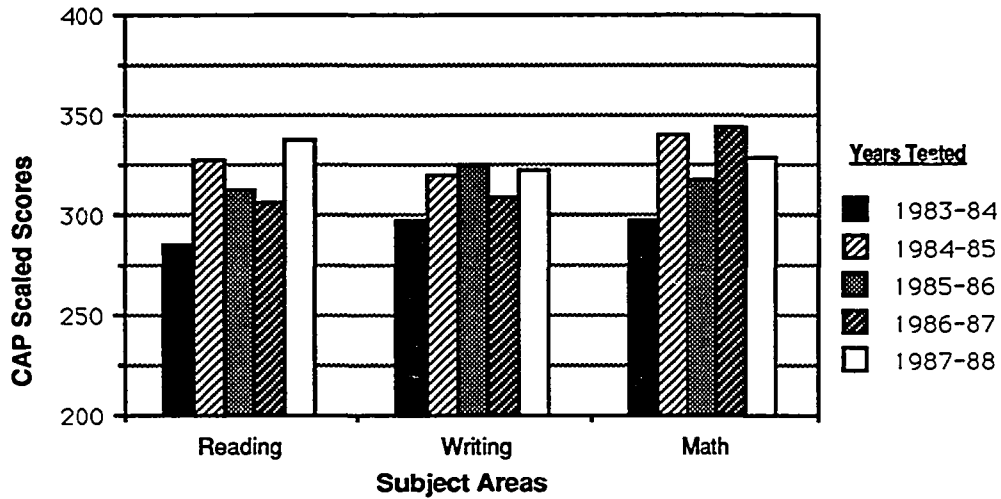
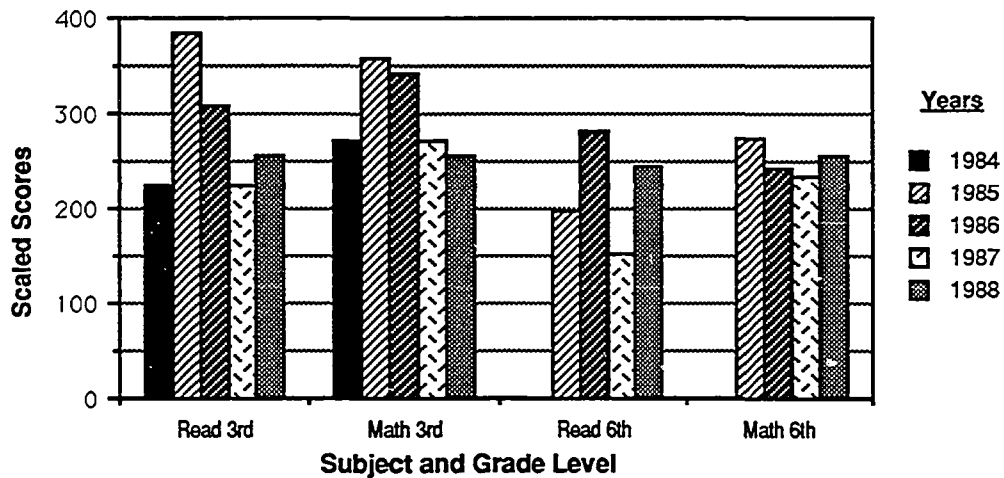


Figure 5.7

Five Year Trend in Third and Sixth Grade CAP Scores for Students from Unskilled Family Backgrounds



School Culture and Climate

If one word were used to typify the culture of Yosemite and its district, it would be competition. A competitive spirit existed among the schools, with each trying to outperform the others in terms of overall achievement results. Of the seven schools in the district, two had larger and four had smaller percentages of students whose parent occupations were classified as semiskilled and unskilled compared to Yosemite. The staff was proud when its students outperformed students from the four more affluent schools whether it be on standardized tests or in district sponsored student competitions.

Safe and orderly learning environment. The 1989 staff survey revealed that personal safety was not an issue at Yosemite. Ninety-five percent of the teachers said they treated students with respect, and 85% said that students were taught the school rules and were responsible for maintaining them. Eighty-five percent agreed that the staff was treated respectfully and not subjected to verbal abuse. Eighty-five percent of the teachers also agreed that the administration supported teachers in dealing with discipline matters and that the administration enforced student rules consistently and equitably.

However, the surveys showed that there were a number of issues regarding the school environment that had not been addressed. The overall percent agreement for the safe and orderly environment correlate was 73%, second lowest among all eight schools Table 5.15 presents the survey results from 1985 and 1989 and shows which issues remained unaddressed. Four issues stood out as concerns for the staff: vandalism by students (45% felt it was a problem); physical condition of the buildings (45% felt

buildings are not well kept); discipline problems being referred to the office (25% felt too many were referred and 35% didn't know); and students verbally abusing each other (74% felt verbal abuse was a problem).

The interviews did not surface any comments to indicate that discipline issues or school climate were major concerns. However, when teachers were asked if there was a systematic process for resolving discipline problems, almost all of them mentioned the time-out room, which had just been instituted by the new principal. Obviously the newness of the procedure made it foremost in their minds but it also indicated that before the time-out room was implemented, many students were being referred to the office. Several of the teachers interviewed thought the procedure was working well, but one commented that there were still some problems that needed to be resolved.

Table 5.15

Comparison of Teacher Opinions on Safe and Orderly Environment in 1985 and 1989 Based on the Connecticut and San Diego County Effective Schools Surveys

Survey Item	Percent Agree	
	1985	1989
• Repairs/alternations responded to in reasonable time*		70%
• There is a positive school spirit	76%	75
• The school buildings are kept in good repair	67	70
• Property of students is secure	67	67
• Students/staff take pride/keep clean and attractive area*		65
• Vandalism by students is not a problem*		55
• Staff enforce student rules consistently/equitably	62	60
• Physical condition of building is pleasant and well kept	53	55
• Few discipline problems are referred to office*		40
• Students respectful/not subject to verbal abuse*		11

Similar to the faculty at Whitney, verbal abuse by students was considered a problem. The survey data indicated that it was regarded as an area of considerable concern by the majority of the faculty. Unlike Whitney, none of the staff members interviewed at Yosemite mentioned the problem or any actions they were taking to address the issue.

* Questions with asterisks were not asked on the Connecticut School Effectiveness Questionnaire, but were added when the San Diego Effective Schools Surveys were developed in 1986.

Rewards and recognition. In 1983 an awards assembly program was initiated to recognize student achievement. In 1984, in response to the open-ended question on the parents surveys, a number of parents commented on the value of these assemblies. In 1986 when the first interviews of the staff were conducted, all those interviewed commented on the positive role that the assemblies played in recognizing students for both achievement and behavior. As one teacher commented then, "The value of the recognition program is that it reinforces student behavior and effort. Student's don't work for rewards, but once they get them, it keeps their motivation higher to continue working." Parents were informed about the awards assemblies and were sent a congratulatory letter.

The 1989 interviews revealed that the awards assemblies were still in place. Several teachers, however, expressed concerns about the assemblies. One commented that like any program, "it runs its course and then it's time to start a new system. I think we are getting to the point where we need to look at that . . . it's starting to get old." Another commented that the assemblies were rather perfunctory and he was not sure that they had much meaning for the students. A third teacher found it very hard to nominate only three or four students. "I tell the kids I don't like to give these things out. It is really hard. Suppose some kids come up with 90 or 100 every day in math, but another kid is making great leaps and bounds, but is not up their in the 100% range. You have to be really careful about that. It's a fine line. To me that is a weak spot in the awards." At the end of each year, this teacher had a particularly difficult time because he felt his whole class deserved recognition for their achievements. Whitney had addressed some of these concerns by the variety of awards it gave and the number of awards that focused on different academic areas.

The awards assemblies were organized by track. While this procedure made sense, it also reinforced the track grouping as opposed to a whole school concept. The tracks at Yosemite created barriers and divided the school in the same way that the lofts had at Sierra.

Based on teacher interviews conducted in 1986, teacher recognition was identified as a strong point at Yosemite. The principal, however, felt he did not do enough to recognize teachers. Teachers were recognized publicly at the student awards assemblies; there was recognition in the PTA newsletter; birthday cards were given to teachers; and there was districtwide recognition, especially through the mentor teacher program.

Each faculty meeting started with sharing "What's Good at Yosemite" This sharing was usually initiated by the principal mentioning an instructional practice he had observed in one of the classrooms. Other teachers then chimed in with observations and comments of their own, recognizing achievements of each other, such as, good teaching strategies, special projects, and so forth. These practices were mentioned again in the interviews conducted in 1989. Unlike teachers at most of the other schools, teachers at Yosemite felt they received recognition for their efforts. They felt appreciated by the principal and they appreciated each other.

High expectations. Similar to the three other schools that have been described in this chapter, on the first effective schools survey, the lack of high expectations for all students surfaced as an issue. The overall "percent agreement" on the high expectations correlate was 51% in 1984 and 53% in 1985. The staff focused on expectations as an area for improvement. The primary staff development activity that was undertaken to address this issues was training in TESA (Teacher Expectations Student Achievement).

Twenty-two of the 29 faculty members volunteered to participate in the training which was held from 6:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m. once a month over a seven month period. In addition, as part of the training, teachers were released during the day to observe each others classrooms. In the interviews conducted in December 1986, TESA was frequently mentioned as one of the best strategies to raise achievement of low achieving students. When asked how they had changed as a result of the effective schools process, TESA training was mentioned by all as being a powerful program in changing their perceptions of low-achieving students and showing teachers how to engage them more effectively in the learning process.

The impact of the TESA was revealed in the 1989 effective schools surveys where the overall percent agreement with the high expectations correlate had risen to 82%. While the overall perceptions regarding this correlate had moved in a positive direction, concerns were expressed by a couple of teachers during the 1989 interviews that many of the new teachers had not been trained in TESA. They felt that there was a need for renewal in this area. Table 5.16 summarizes the responses to several key questions on the surveys completed in 1985 and 1989 and shows where perceptions had changed.

Table 5.16

Comparison of Teacher Opinions on High Expectations in 1985 and 1989
Based on the Connecticut and San Diego County Effective Schools Surveys

Survey Item	Percent Agree	
	1985	1989
• 90-100% of students expected to master basic skills	95%	95%
• Teachers responsible for students learning basic skills	81	100
• Teachers hold consistently high expectations for students	67	100
• All students are expected to be successful in school work	67	100
• Low income/high income students retained proportionately	53	21**
• Low achieving students given same opportunity to answer	43	90
• Students achieve identified standards regardless of home	43	43
• Teachers expect over 95% will graduate from high school	39	55
• In math, initial instruction presented to whole class	10	65

** Note: While the 21% agree on this item in 1989 looks like there has been slippage, it is important to note that on the 1985 survey, 34% disagreed with this questions and 14% said they didn't know, in 1989, only 5% disagreed with the question, and 74% said they didn't know.

A significant issue impacting expectations that surfaced in the interviews in 1987 and was prominent in 1989 was the concern about the way the children had been grouped in the four tracks. When the school changed from a year-round and a traditional track to a four track year-round school in the summer of 1986, all of the gifted students were placed on one track and all of the limited English speaking students were placed on another. A third track was perceived as the average track and a fourth track

was designated for new arrivals to the school. When the interviews were conducted in 1987 the track system had only been in place six months. Even at this point, teachers were raising concerns about the tracking. They were frustrated because it was now harder to find time for all teachers to work together. By 1989, the tracking system emerged as a major issue in all of the interviews. Every teacher was concerned about it and the impact it was having on the students and staff. The staff not assigned to the gifted track felt as if they were second class citizens. The bilingual teachers felt especially short changed because they had the neediest children and the largest class sizes. The kindergarten bilingual teacher had 37 children in her class because there was no other option for their placement. The teachers also expressed concern about the segregation of the students and the impact that was having on their attitudes towards each other and towards their ability. The principal commented that much of his time was spent dealing with parent complaints about the placement of their child. One teacher commented that parents were vying to get their child designated as gifted student so they could be assigned to the gifted track.

Compared to other schools in the study, there were much wider disparities among students in home background at Yosemite and at Pinyon, the other school in the study located in this same district. The tracking served to highlight the differences. These disparities also helped to show that in spite of the TESA training, the teachers perception of the impact of home background on student achievement had not been changed.

During the interview the former principal sadly reflected on the decision he made to organize the tracks. At the time he thought it was the best way to maximize the limited number of bilingual teachers he had for his limited and non-English speaking students. A strong well organized parent

lobby was another factor that pushed the decision toward the formation of a gifted track. Many of the most active parents on the PTA and on the School Site Council, whose children were also participants in the gifted program, organized and requested that their children be placed on the same track. The parental pressure combined with the district policy requiring clustering of gifted students made the principal feel he had no choice but to put them all on the same track. In retrospect and from his present perspective as principal of another school, he realized that the formation of the separate gifted and bilingual tracks was a serious mistake.

In July 1988, the principal, after repeated complaints from the staff, realized he had to address the problem and to raise sagging staff morale. A tracking committee was formed with representatives from all tracks. The goal of the committee was to identify ways of linking the tracks and bringing children in contact with each other across the tracks. One idea that was implemented was a big buddy program where a sixth grade class adopted a kindergarten or first grade class. Several teachers commented that this had worked well. Younger and older students shared reading and writing time together and enjoyed field trips and holiday parties together. A team teaching subcommittee was created that presented a staff inservice on strategies for team teaching and types of activities that lent themselves to teaming. As a result of their efforts, several other teachers and classes were paired across the tracks to do some team teaching. While these efforts helped, the staff perception was that they were stopgap measures that did not address the fundamental problem of student and staff segregation.

When a new principal was assigned to the school in January 1989, he indicated to the staff a willingness to change the way the tracks were organized. One approach being considered was to increase the number of

teachers who were certificated to teach gifted classes and then to spread the gifted clusters across all tracks. According to the former principal, parents perceived the GATE teachers as being the most qualified. The result of the track system, he said, had been to undermine the esteem of the many other good teachers who taught in the other tracks. If all teachers can be certified, the perception problem would be eliminated. A second approach also being considered was to gradually shift the bilingual classes to other tracks as well. In the interview one teacher commented that they were led to believe that the tracks could not be rearranged.

We've complained about it for years. Little things were done as I mentioned before, like field trips and PE together, and buddy systems, but it didn't really change the isolation of the bilingual and GATE tracks. We made the best of what we had but we believed, because we had been told, that it really couldn't be changed. "

She went on to say that the new principal was showing them that the student composition of the tracks could be changed and made more integrated. "It is a difference in philosophy and approach, but I would hope that if we had to do it over again that would be the approach from the very beginning." The former principal was in full agreement with this teacher and there was no doubt that he would not make this mistake again.

Home-School Relations. When the initial survey was administered in 1983, home-school relations were identified as an area that the staff wanted to address. The overall percent agreement with the home-school relations correlate rose from 71% in 1983 to 77% in 1985 to 80% agreement in 1989. Based on the surveys in 1983, the staff felt they needed to communicate with

parents more about the instructional program and to encourage more school visits by parents.

The 1984-85 school effectiveness plan focused on several strategies for strengthening home-school communications. Teachers were encouraged to send at least two communications a month to parents about classroom activities. Two teachers agreed to experiment with sending home weekly lesson plans as a way of helping parents know what was going on in the classroom. In January 1985, the school initiated a Parent/Community visitation program. In small groups, parents were invited to come to school during the day to learn more about school programs, the curriculum, and test scores, to have an opportunity to ask questions about the school, and to visit classrooms. Based on comments of parents on the open-ended questions on the parent effective schools survey, completed by parents in December 1985, it was clear that the efforts to communicate with them and to invite them to the school were appreciated. A typical comment was, "There is now more communication between teacher and parent as to what the class is doing via weekly or monthly letters." Another parent commented, "I personally know what subjects were being stressed more than others, and how I could help my child in subjects she was failing." A third parent stressed the value of the visitation program:

Parents get periodic invitations not only to come to school to help with teacher work but also to visit the child's classroom and observe for a half hour to an hour an academic activity or activities such as math or reading or spelling, etc. This does not have to be often, but a parent can more effectively assess both teacher and school if the parent has been in the classroom actually having observed first-hand

a class experience or activity. My child likes the school and the teacher in general."

In the interviews in 1987 and in 1989, the teachers stated that they felt they had excellent parent support. Many parents volunteered and there was an active PTA and School Site Council. The teachers commented on the push that had been made to increase communications with parents. A comparison of the survey results in 1985 with those in 1989 on the home-school relations correlate shows the positive shift in teachers' opinions. Table 5.17 presents the results from the two sets of surveys.

Table 5.17

Comparison of Teacher Opinions on Home-School Relations in 1985 and 1989 Based on the Connecticut and San Diego County Effective Schools Surveys

Survey Item	Percent Agree	
	1985	1989
• Teachers communicate with parents in many ways	90%	100%
• Parent-teacher conferences relate to student achievement	90	100
• 90% to 10% parents attend scheduled parent-teacher conf.	67	100
• There is an active parent group	81	95
• Teacher and parents are aware of homework policy	100	100
• Activities of the parent group support school's goals	62	95
• Parents and or community members are frequent volunteers	76	85
• Parents frequently initiate contacts with classroom teachers	78	90
• Teachers contact parents on a regular basis	100	95
• Cooperation bet. parents teachers re hmwk monitoring	72	90
• Teachers invite parents to observe instructional program	48	65
• Almost all students complete assigned homework	57	55
• Most parents would rate this school superior	62	50

These results show that there had been a positive shift in opinion on almost every item except for the completion of assigned homework and the teachers' perceptions of parents' rating of the school. The school community with its many highly educated parents had parents who were supportive and

involved, but also quite critical of the school. In addition, the tracking system had undermined staff confidence as well as their perceptions of parental support.

The needs of Hispanic parents were a concern of the school staff, especially of the bilingual resource teacher. From 1984-86, the bilingual resource teacher undertook an initiative to expand the Bilingual Advisory Committee, to make sure that every meeting helped the parents understand the educational program, and to create a welcoming environment for Hispanic parents. Even though the bilingual resource teacher left the school in 1987, the bilingual teachers remained in contact with Hispanic parents. The bilingual kindergarten teacher reported that only three of her parents were unable to attend parent-teacher conferences. She thought the high attendance rate was a result of her ability to speak Spanish. The bilingual track, however, did not have the same level of parent involvement as the other tracks, especially compared to track C which had all of the Gifted and Talented program participants. Few of the Hispanic parents were free to volunteer during the day. The problem of less parent involvement was not confined to the bilingual track. The former principal acknowledged that when the gifted track was on vacation, there were fewer parent activities and far fewer volunteers. Also the PTA and SSC were composed predominantly of parents whose children were on the gifted track.

Thus, the tracking system impacted expectations as well as home-school relations negatively. One of the unintended consequences for the principal was that he had to spend an ever increasing amount of time placating parents and answering complaints about the track on which their child had been placed. In fact, so much time was spent with parents, the

principal reported that it drastically affected the time available for classroom observations and visitations further distancing him from the teachers.

Shared mission. At Yosemite, clear school mission was identified in 1985 as a strength and remained so in 1989. In 1983-84, the staff, principal, parents and aides participated in a "We Agree" process similar to the one conducted at Whitney. In 1984, the staff refined the school goals and sent the following goals to parents:

- To continue to provide a quality education for each child
- To respect the individual students' worth and dignity
- To continue to strengthen teaching skills
- To promote a positive image of Yosemite School
- To encourage active parent participation in the educational process
- To continue to improve test scores on standardized tests (CAP, CTBS)
- To continue to participate in the Effective Schools Program
- To continue to support PTA and School Site Council
- To continue to participate in the Adopt-A-School Program.

The goals were then used to develop a specific plan of action. These goals were vigorously implemented between 1984 and 1986. When the four track year-round school program was implemented, the school lost some of its goal focus. During the interviews conducted in 1989, each staff articulated a similar formulation of the mission, but the segregation by tracks seemed to be undermining the shared vision.

Curriculum and Instruction

The curriculum and instruction at Yosemite was strongly influenced by district directives and district organized staff development. The interviews

in 1987 and 1989 revealed that the teachers felt they had somewhat of a say in the curriculum through teacher participation on district curriculum committees and participation in selecting new textbooks. These committees also served as vehicles for addressing curriculum concerns. One teacher commented that once when there were problems with the math program and a number of teachers communicated their concerns through the committee, the problem was then addressed by district administrators.

The district curriculum was being shaped by the state curriculum frameworks. For example, one teacher explained that the district previously had a heavy emphasis on phonics and had been adamant in this approach. The new state framework in language arts, however, was stressing the use of a whole language approach to reading and the use of literature in the basic reading program. According to this teacher the "district is jumping on the bandwagon" through the adoption of a new reading series that encompasses the whole language and literature approach. The teacher continued, "That's really daring and really different from the past."

Use of test results. The interviews in 1987 and 1989 revealed that test scores were reviewed annually with the staff. The teachers were made aware of specific skills their students had or had not mastered. The third and sixth grade teachers received the printout of the individual Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills test results from the previous grade and knew the areas of strength and weakness for both groups of children and for individual children. Based on the analysis, areas for focus or improvement were identified. The principal and teachers either by grade level or individually did diagnostic work to pinpoint problems. For example, the principal pointed out that the students one year scored very low in proper nouns at

third grade. He knew that the teachers were introducing students to proper nouns and that the students generally did not have trouble learning that concept. After careful review, the staff discovered that nouns were introduced at the beginning of the school year and mastered by the students, but not reviewed during the year. Therefore, the staff selected several additional in-class and homework assignments that could be given throughout the year to reinforce the concept.

The interviews of district staff conducted in 1987-88 revealed that the district also placed an emphasis on test analysis and use of test results. Each year the district reviewed the scores of all schools and worked with each principal to see that weaknesses were addressed. In addition, the district organized staff development or acquired new materials to meet specific identified needs that all or several schools seemed to have in common.

There were some discrepancies between comments made in the interview and staff responses on the survey. Table 5.18 compares the results of the 1985 and 1989 survey results in the area of review and use of test results. The data indicate that most of the faculty agreed that results were reviewed. Only half of the faculty felt, however, that they were used to modify the instructional program. The survey results do not seem to match the interview comments in which all of those interviewed indicated that results were used to modify the instructional program. The discrepancy in responses may be due to interpretation of the questions. In other words, in the teachers' minds the instructional program was not modified or changed. They still taught the same skills, but the emphasis given to a particular skill may have been different from one year to another based on test results. In the 1989 interviews, one teacher said, "A couple of years ago we came up with really poor spelling results. . . . We put more emphasis but did not

change the program." Also, a kindergarten teacher pointed out that if they were using test results to modify the instructional program they would have used more ditto sheets to reinforce punctuation rather than spending time on teaching writing. This teacher stressed that the testing program was not in alignment with the state framework.

Table 5.18

Comparison of Teacher Opinions on Items Related to Use of Test Results in 1985 and 1989 Based on the Connecticut and San Diego County Effective Schools Surveys

Survey Item	Percent Agree	
	1985 Conn.	1989 San Diego
• Principal reviews and interprets test results with the faculty	72%	84%
• Principal emphasizes meaning and use of standardized test results	58	55
• Principal initiates test results to modify/change instructional progr.	67	53
• Test results are used to diagnose student strengths/weaknesses	67	95
• Test results are used to plan for reteaching	76	90
• Test results are reviewed and used to modify instructional programs	53	35
• CAP is an accurate/valid measure of the basic skills curriculum	29	15

The 1989 survey results confirmed that the test results at Yosemite were used more systematically to diagnose students strengths and weaknesses and to plan for reteaching. The survey results on these two items were consistent with the interview data. It is interesting to note that the staff at Yosemite,

like the staff at Sierra and Tahoe, felt that CAP was not an accurate and valid measure of the basic skills curriculum. The staff at Yosemite also had concerns about how well the CAP test measures their instructional program, but not to the same degree as in the other three schools. When a school was performing well across all income groups, as was the case at Whitney, it is easier for the teachers to accept the validity of the test.

The principal and teachers at Yosemite felt that there was too much emphasis on test scores. The sense of competition in the district and the communitywide comparison created pressures on the staff to see that students performed well. This was an issue that Whitney had not had to face in the last few years; therefore, it again may have been easier for Whitney staff to accept CAP than it was for the staff at Yosemite.

The staff at Yosemite, unlike the staff at Whitney, had not played an active role in curriculum alignment at the school site. This task was performed by the district administrative staff with involvement of teachers at the district level. Extensive curriculum objectives were established for each curriculum area. These objectives were aligned with the state and other standardized tests. Materials were selected that supported these objectives, and teachers were given training by the district in effective instructional strategies designed to implement the curriculum. The active involvement of the teaching staff at Whitney in the alignment process may have been one reason why the staff felt more comfortable with CAP than did the staff at Yosemite.

Academic focus. Similar to Whitney, Yosemite's district leadership played a significant role in directing the academic focus for each school and for the district based on the test analysis and identified needs. In keeping

with the district's focus of improving instruction, a series of professional development activities were scheduled on instructional strategies and the teaching process. Some of the topics included: (a) Decision in Teaching, a video tape that addressed how to increase the probability of learning, (b) Motivation Theory, a video tape of the principal teaching a lesson which the staff was to identify the components of motivation used in the lesson, (c) time-on-task, (d) Extending Their Thinking, a video tape on how to elicit higher level cognitive skills, (e) lesson analysis, and (f) Bloom's Taxonomy for the slow learner. In addition to these schoolwide staff development activities, the staff used monthly grade-level meetings to also maintain the school's focus on instruction by discussing curricular ideas and sharing teaching strategies. Minutes of these meetings were to be turned into the school secretary for typing and posting on the staff bulletin board.

In 1985-86, the school continued its focus on instructional strategies through the TESA training, which, although voluntary, involved most of the staff. By focusing on instructional practices, the school developed an overall academic focus rather than a specific subject area focus. This is not to say that specific subject areas did not receive attention. For example, science kits were purchased and inservices held on their use as a means of strengthening the science program. Math manipulatives were also acquired and the math resources teacher instructed the staff in their use. The attention paid to instructional practices in the first three years during which the school was involved in the effective schools program may have been one reason why the achievement at the school remained at an overall high level even during the difficult transition to the four track year-round system.

While the staff agreed that the school still had a clear school mission, the interviews beginning in 1987 and again in 1989 revealed that there was

not the sense of clear academic focus that there was in these early years. Implementing and administering a four track year-round schools proved a very difficult task demanding considerable time from the principal; consequently, much of the improvement momentum was lost. Staff members were currently being trained in the writing process and in a literature based approach to reading, but these were individual efforts and not a schoolwide focus as was found at Whitney and Sierra. The new reading textbook adoption in 1989-1990 will mean that language arts will be made a focus for the entire staff; however, at the time of the interviews there was not a school committee or grade level teams planning how the staff would implement the new directive as was the case at Whitney.

Frequent monitoring. Frequent monitoring occurred at the school in several ways. First, progress was monitored through test results. Second, the principal monitored through formal and informal observations. Third, the reading and math programs were monitored by the math and reading resource teachers. Fourth individual pupil progress was closely monitored by teachers. It was clear from interviews of both school site staff and district personnel that test results were used to monitor and adjust school programs.

The district in which Tahoe and Sierra were located was now in the process of training teachers and principals in effective teaching and how to conduct observations. This type of training had been occurring in Yosemite's district since 1983; consequently, monitoring through observations was an important monitoring strategy used by the principal. During the interview conducted in 1989, the principal admitted that in the last couple of years, monitoring through observations had not been as systematic throughout the school as was previously the case. The

observations had focused most on new teachers, on teachers that were experiencing difficulty, and on teachers that seemed to want feedback. The principal had chosen not to spend time observing teachers that he felt were good teachers but not open to feedback. Also as mentioned above, more and more of the principal's time was pulled away from the classroom and spent on dealing with administrative issues. As a result, in the last two years monitoring through informal observations also was much less prevalent.

The reading and math specialists played a critical role in monitoring implementation of the math and reading programs. In addition to helping individual students in the reading and math labs, these specialists spent time each day in teacher classrooms giving demonstration lessons or observing the instructional program. In the interviews conducted in 1987, most of the staff mentioned the monitoring role of these specialists. In the interviews conducted in 1989, only one teacher mentioned monitoring by the reading teacher from time to time. She concluded by saying, "I'm not using Caterpillar Capers in my classroom and no one really cares. The reading specialist we have now doesn't care." No doubt the loss of funding for the full time math specialist cut into time that was available for direct work with classroom teachers.

Finally, teachers at Yosemite, had effective systems for tracking individual pupil progress. The coordinated curriculum and specified objectives helped each teacher to know what they were to cover. The monitoring helped them to know how well students had mastered the skills, and reteaching and remediation were an important part of the instructional process. In summary, during the past five years, use of tests for individual teacher monitoring of students was a common practice. However,

monitoring of schools programs had slipped and was perceived to be less effective than in 1987.

Opportunity to learn and time-on-task. Through classroom management training and attention paid to instructional issues, Yosemite maximized learning time and provided opportunities to learn for all students. The overall percent agreement for this correlate on the 1985 survey was 82% and in 1989 was 86%. On the 1989 effective schools staff survey 100% percent of the faculty agreed that (a) a variety of teaching strategies were used in the classroom, (b) homework was regularly assigned, (c) there were fifty minutes or more for math each day and two hours or more for reading and language arts, (d) the school had a written homework policy, (e) class started promptly, (f) students learned to the end of the period, (g) students practiced new skills in group and individual settings, (h) practice work was planned so students could be successful, (i) activities for all learning modalities were provided, (j) alternate teaching was provided for students having difficulty with a skill.

Similar to the other schools in this study, the teachers still felt that learning time was lost through interruptions by the administration, for maintenance of school facilities, or to discipline students. Only 55% of the staff agreed that students received immediate feedback and suggestions on homework, and only 10% agreed that pull out programs didn't disrupt basic skills instruction.

Staff development. The pattern of staff development was similar to that found at Whitney. The district organized most of the staff development for all teachers and these activities were offered at the district level rather than at the site. The district had offered extensive training in the Madeline

Hunter clinical teaching and supervision model. All teachers were trained and some refreshers have been offered at the site.

Effective teaching practices were a major focus of district inservices. As a result of the effective schools survey, the principal at Yosemite took the initiative to organize the TESA training. Staff members from other schools were invited to participate in the TESA training, but the largest proportion of participants came from Yosemite. The interviews conducted in 1987 revealed that this program had considerable impact on the staff

When the San Diego Effective Schools Surveys were developed in 1986, a number of staff development questions were added to the instructional leadership correlate. Therefore there are no comparative data for the survey completed by the Yosemite staff in 1984 and 1985. The responses to the questions in 1989 did shed some light on how the school perceived the whole issue of staff development. Table 5.19 compares the responses to the staff development questions from Yosemite and the other three case study schools.

The results from Table 5.19 show that the responses to these items do not correlate with overall achievement results. Whitney and Yosemite had far higher achievement results, yet the staff did not indicate higher levels of agreement in those items.

Table 5.19 shows that the principals at all four schools emphasized participation in staff development activities. The data also show that the teachers at Sierra expressed the most positive views toward staff development and the principal's role in the process. As was pointed out in the case study, staff development was a major focus at Sierra for the past three years. The principal and staff at Sierra planned and carried out many

staff development activities; this is indicated by the Sierra staff having the highest agreement with the statement that the principal and staff plan staff development activities together. Whitney's staff is the next highest in expressing agreement with this statement. A significant part of the staff development provided for Whitney was organized by the district. This was also true for Yosemite. Tahoe planned some staff development, especially the school based training in the writing process.

Table 5.19

Comparison of Teacher Opinions from Whitney, Sierra, Tahoe, and Yosemite on Staff Development in 1989 Based on the San Diego County Effective Schools Survey

Survey Item	Percent Agree			
	Whitney	Sierra	Tahoe	Yosemite
• Principal emphasizes participation in staff development activities	100%	92%	90%	80%
• Principal active in promoting staff development	90	96	85	70
• There is a staff development program based on school goals	75	86	90	55
• Principal and staff plan the staff development program	65	78	55	30
• Primary focus of staff development—increase knowledge of topic	90	100	95	80
• Primary focus of staff development—acquisition of new skills	75	93	75	75
• Primary focus of staff development—application of knowledge and skills	85	89	85	80
• There is follow-up assistance by admin. to support staff development skills	65	89	53	55
• Staff development evaluated on evidence of use in classroom	40	61	40	70

The very low percent agreement (30%) at Yosemite indicated that there was little staff development at the school in the last year. If these questions had been asked on the 1985 survey, there might have been a higher percentage of agreement because in the first three years of the effective schools process the staff was far more active in organizing and leading site based staff development activities as well as participating in district inservices. Like some of the other effective schools efforts, staff development, too, seemed to have slipped at Yosemite with the implementation of the four track year-round school.

In 1988-89, training in the writing process was offered in the district and teachers, including some from Yosemite, participated. Similar training had also been provided in cooperative learning strategies. From the interviews it was not possible to determine the degree of participation in these programs. It is important to note that when asked which strategies were helping to raise achievement for low achieving students, only one person at Yosemite mentioned the writing process or cooperative learning. This is in sharp contrast to the responses given at Whitney, Sierra, and several other of the most effective school where almost every teacher mentioned the impact of these programs on helping lower achieving students be more successful. Two years before, the staff at Yosemite was eagerly discussing the impact of TESA. There was no such excitement expressed in 1989 about any staff development activity.

Organizational Structures and Procedures

In reviewing data from the last five years at Yosemite, it is easy to see the impact of changes in organizational structures and procedures on the school. When the school first initiated the effective schools process,

students attended either a traditional school year track or a year-round track. While this arrangement meant there were two groups of teachers, it was possible to get everyone together most of the time for faculty or grade level meetings or for staff development. In 1986 when the four track year-round schedule was implemented, the school suffered a set back to its improvement momentum and efforts. The impact on staff morale as a result of the segregation of students by ability and language on the tracks has been discussed above. The operation of four tracks also impacted the three key variables of shared decision making and collaboration, problem-solving, and communication.

Shared-Decision Making and Collaboration. In 1983-84 the school staff voted to participate in the effective schools process. After completion of the effective schools surveys, the whole staff had an opportunity to hear the results. The entire teaching staff, several parents, and classroom aides participated in a "We Agree" process to define school goals. The goals setting process was repeated by the entire staff in 1984-85. A school effectiveness steering committee was selected to guide the school's improvement efforts. Subcommittees were established to work on particular needs that had been identified. Regular grade level meetings were held once a month that had as their focus the sharing of instructional strategies as well as problem solving and identification of issues to be addressed by the whole faculty. At faculty meetings, teams of teachers took responsibility for researching and sharing information on effective teaching strategies for their colleagues.

From 1983 to 1986 there was a real sense of shared purpose and action on issues that the staff felt were important, based on what they had learned

from the effective schools surveys. This strong sense of shared purpose was not as prevalent in the interviews conducted in 1989. The school effectiveness steering committee was no longer meeting. The principal stated that if he could retrace his steps, one action he would do differently would be to maintain the school effectiveness committee. He felt by disbanding that group much momentum was lost. Far fewer grade level meetings had been held in 1987-89 as a result of the four track year-round schedule and because of the lack of focus and attention being given to improvement efforts.

Collaboration and shared decision-making suffered in the difficult transition years when the four track year-round was being implemented because of the administrative time absorbed in managing the new organizational structure. In the fall of 1988, the principal recognized that the segregation issue had to be addressed and he established a school committee to brainstorm possible solutions. The solutions developed by the staff resulted in more team teaching and collaboration across tracks. While these collaborative efforts helped, the interviews in 1989 revealed that a sense of segregation and isolation existed and that it negatively impacted collaborative efforts in ways that were not present in 1986.

In the interviews conducted in 1986, when asked what role do teachers have in making instructional decisions, 80% of the teachers replied they have an important role in their classroom in determining how they teach and how they motivate students to learn. All stated that the curriculum was determined for them at the district level through the grade level expectancies and the textbook adoptions. They explained, however, that teachers were involved on the district curriculum committees. Similar responses were expressed in the interviews conducted in 1989. One teacher summed up the

situation this way: "A younger, inexperienced teacher will be dictated by the curriculum simply because he or she is inexperienced. The experienced teacher will use the curriculum in the best way that suits his or her teaching abilities. You will look through the book and pick out the best and work up other material to fill in the holes." At Yosemite there was not a committee ready to go through a new text as a whole school to "pick out the best and fill in the holes" as the staff at Whitney had done with their new math textbook.

Problem solving. When asked if there was a systematic process for resolving both instructional and discipline problems, all staff members interviewed in 1986 said yes. They cited the role of committees, grade level teams, faculty meetings and the important individual role played by the principal. In 1989, the answers to this questions were far more negative and vague. The inability to satisfactorily resolve the segregation of students in the tracks had undermined the sense of efficacy in solving problems that existed in 1986. The surveys reflected the loss of efficacy somewhat, but not as strongly as the interviews. In response to the question "Can the principal and staff solve most problems?" in 1985, 86% of the staff agreed. In 1989, the percent agreement with this statement had dropped to 75%. It is important to keep in mind that the teachers interviewed in 1989 were veteran teachers who had been on the staff when the school initiated the effective schools process and several had actively participated on the steering committee. Thus, these teachers had experienced the full changes in organizational structures and procedures over the last five years and had consistently expressed concerns about and had struggled with the tracking and segregation issue.

Communication. Communication surfaced as one of the most difficult problems resulting from the four track year-round school schedule. As one teacher said, "There is no time when we are all together. One quarter of the staff is always on vacation; therefore, when you have meetings or staff development activities, someone is always missing." When the organizational problem of communicating across the four tracks was overlaid with tensions caused by the segregation among tracks, communications became even more difficult. By the fall of 1988, the situation had reached a crisis point and the principal organized a staff meeting in November that was held away from the site to discuss the tracking issue. While no fundamental changes were made, this was an important first step in bringing the staff together to communicate about the problem. The new principal who resumed the leadership position in January 1988, made it clear that one of his priorities was to alter the segregation of students on the tracks.

While it is possible to trace the problems that the four track year-round school had imposed on the faculty of Yosemite and how it had impacted staff collaboration, shared decision making, problem solving, and communication, it is critical to point out that there was more total staff involvement and participation on committees at Yosemite than was found at Tahoe. Establishing a schoolwide committee to address a problem was a more familiar response at Yosemite than was found at Sierra. The lessons from Yosemite are clear, however, that an external environmental change such as the need to implement four tracks instead of two to accommodate growth, can derail the improvement process. There was a period of readjustment and refinement necessary to find new ways of working together

given the separation caused by the tracks. These changes along with other variables, negatively impacted test scores. Two other schools in the study found themselves in similar situations of having to change configurations because of growth in student enrollment and had the same consequences in terms of impact on organizational structures and procedures and on student outcomes.

Instructional leadership

In both the 1986 and 1989 interviews, observing classrooms was identified as one of the most significant roles the principal played in guiding instruction and making instructional decisions at the school. In 1986 one teacher described the process this way:

The principal sets the tone and where the emphasis should be. He follows through with this emphasis in the classroom through observations. There are four per year with a post conference follow-up session. One is isolated as a teacher. It is great to get the positive feedback from the principal.

Several other teachers commented on the helpfulness of the positive notes that were left by the principal when he observed the classroom. Another strong point was the principal's willingness to teach lessons, to have himself video taped doing a lesson and to have the lesson critiqued. His teaching skills were highly regarded by the staff and thus they had confidence in his ability to give them guidance in their lessons and to learn from his comments. As one teacher put it:

The principal thought like a teacher. When someone is the boss they sometimes forget what the job is all about and that's true of teaching too. It's easy to write up programs for this and that and they forget what

it's like to implement and carry them out. The [principal] is the kind of guy who could just come right in and take over your job as a teacher and nothing gets lost because he's thinking like a teacher. Consequently, his support was always directed at teaching so that makes him much more effective.

In the interviews in 1986, several other important roles were also mentioned such as organizing staff development, monitoring the implementation of district curriculum, focusing staff meetings on instructional issues, utilizing the skills of the resource teachers to work in the classroom. making presentations to the staff, analyzing test results, and selecting new staff members.

In 1989, the responses were less inclusive. The principal had the disadvantage of being a lame duck principal. The staff knew he was leaving and so did he; therefore, many issues were left to slide in the intervening months. The principal himself commented that so much of his time was consumed with dealing with community concerns about the year-round school, that in the last two years the amount of time he spent in the classroom had greatly diminished. The principal and the staff acknowledged that his leadership was less visible and active in the last two years in terms of instructional issues. Table 5.20 compares of the survey results in 1985 and 1989 and shows where there had been changes in teachers' perceptions regarding the instructional leadership role of the principal. Overall, the results show that there was a slight negative trend in opinions with less agreement on some of the items. A significant change that surfaced and that was corroborated by the principal's own statements is that he was less available and visible throughout the school in 1989 than he was in 1985-86.

Table 5. 20

Comparison of Teacher Opinions on Items Related to Instructional Leadership in 1985 and 1989 Based on the Connecticut and San Diego County Effective Schools Surveys

Survey Item	Percent Agree	
	1985	1989
• Following formal observation, principal discusses observ with teacher	100%	95%
• Classroom observation by principal focused on improving instruction	81	80
• Principal is accessible to discuss instructional matters	95	85
• Principal and faculty can solve most problems	86	75
• Prin. encourages teachers to accept responsibility for student achieve	71	85
• Principal seeks ideas and suggestions from staff	53	85
• Principal makes several formal classroom observations each year	75	70
• After formal obs. teacher and prin. develop instruct improvem't plan	85	70
• Principal initiates effective coordination of instructional program	86	65
• Principal is highly visible throughout the school	86	53
• Principal makes frequent contacts with students and teachers	96	65
• Instructional leadership from the principal is clear, strong and central	62	65
• Principal gives feedback to teachers re instructional techniques	71	45
• Instructional issues frequently the focus of staff meetings	48	35

The principal's leadership in the instructional area was significant in helping the school launch an effective schools effort and to bring about a significant increase in achievement for students from the lowest two income groups. When the year-round four track system was implemented, the

principal found his energies consumed by addressing administrative issues and community concerns for placement. In 1986 one teacher said, "This is a strong staff and it could run the school by itself." He was correct in recognizing that Yosemite had instructionally strong teachers and an excellent overall level of achievement. Unfortunately, the students from low income families suffered and their achievement fell below comparable groups in the state when the principal's instructional leadership was diverted to administrative and community matters. The principal, however, had planted the seed that equality of outcomes needed to be a goal, the school staff had experienced achieving that goal, and now the staff was working to recover from this temporary set back by diminishing, and hopefully in the near future, eliminating the impact of tracking students by ability or language.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In Chapter One, an interactive model of school effectiveness and improvement was presented. The model has four major components: school culture and climate, curriculum and instruction, organizational structures and procedures and instructional leadership. It is through leadership by the principal and in conjunction with school staff that changes occur in the other three components to bring about school improvement and increased effectiveness at the classroom level. This chapter summarizes the key findings from the eight schools in relationship to the four components of the model, examining the components separately and in relationship to each other. Conclusions will be drawn regarding the developmental nature of the school effectiveness and improvement process and implications for practitioners and policy makers will be presented.

School Culture and Climate

The variables that comprise this component—safety and order of the learning environment, rewards and recognition, sense of a shared mission, high expectations, and home-school relations—create the ethos of the school which Rutter et al. (1979) and Mortimore et al. (1988) found to be significant in contributing to a school's overall effectiveness.

Safety and order. Although four of the eight schools in the study served urban populations in terms of SES and ethnic diversity of the students, none of the schools in the study had safety issues comparable to inner city schools in Chicago, Detroit, or New York. After analyzing the data across the eight schools, several points appear to be significant in regard to safety and order. First, Whitney, the school with the greatest third grade achievement gains, had the greatest change in percent agreement among teachers on the safe and orderly correlate. Second, Tahoe, the least effective school, improved in this correlate, but remained well below the other schools in total percent agreement by staff with the survey items. Third, Yosemite and Lassen, two schools in the more effective category, had lower percent agree scores than several less effective schools, indicating that there may be a threshold level. Once the threshold is reached, improvements in the safety, order, or appearance of the school may not significantly impact student achievement. Once a reasonable climate has been created and little teaching time is lost to student misbehavior in the classroom, vigilance in maintaining a safe and orderly learning environment will increase or reinforce staff morale, but it is less likely to raise test scores.

Conclusion: Improvements in the safety and order of the learning environment were often one of the first activities to be undertaken. While these improvements may be necessary, they are not sufficient for school effectiveness.

Rewards and recognition. Implementing student reward and recognition programs often accompanied improvements in the safety and order of the learning environment. By 1986, all eight schools had recognition programs in place; however, there was some variability among

reward programs. First, Sierra, one of the two least effective schools, focused its recognition program more on behavior than on academic achievement. In addition, the recognition was primarily centered in the lofts or classrooms rather than schoolwide. Tahoe, the other least effective school, had a schoolwide recognition program but compared to the other schools it was fairly new and still developing. Third, only Whitney had developed a comprehensive recognition program that focused on improvement and achievements in every academic area. The extent and the breadth of the recognition program appeared to contribute to the academic focus of the school and the stress on achievement. Fourth, the staff at Yosemite, one of the first schools to initiate the effective schools process, felt that its recognition program had become stale and doubted that it was having the same impact on students as it had initially. This is an important insight that highlights the difficulty of maintaining the impact of innovations over time if there is not constant review and renewal. Finally, the student recognition programs were important in linking schools and families. Yosemite and Whitney, not only invited parents, but the principal also sent letters home expressing appreciation for parental support that enhanced student achievement. The recognition program was used very effectively at Whitney to help embed high expectations in the community. This aspect seemed to be less prevalent in the other schools, and especially at Sierra and Tahoe.

A second aspect of recognition explored in this study was teacher recognition. This topic has not been addressed in the effective schools literature. In the most effective schools, most of the staff felt that teachers were recognized for both extra efforts and instructional effectiveness. This was not the case in the three least effective schools. At both Pinyon and

Sequoia, significant numbers of staff members (nine at each site) had been recognized as mentor teachers. Pinyon, Yosemite, Lassen and Sequoia had designated time during faculty meetings to recognize instructional practices, classroom successes, and innovative projects. The faculty at Whitney and Sequoia were recognized through plaques, name plates, pins, paper weights, staff bulletins, etc. At Whitney, in particular, the recognition for staff as for students, centered around achievement gains. It can be inferred from the information gained in the interviews that teacher recognition, especially recognition that focused on successful instructional strategies and gains in students achievement, may be as important as student recognition in creating an academic and achievement orientation among staff members. Based on the interviews, staff recognition appeared to be an area that could use more attention. Recognition serves both symbolic and real functions in reinforcing the school's mission (Deal, 1984). Recognizing teacher efforts in student achievement on standardized tests may be especially significant, given that many teachers felt the tests were not a valid measure of the curriculum they taught.

Conclusion: Well-developed recognition programs that focused on all aspects of academic achievement and rewarded both students and teachers contributed to increased school effectiveness.

Shared mission. Deal and Kennedy (1982) in their book Corporate Culture discussed the important role that a strong, cohesive culture plays in the economic success and viability of corporations. They asserted that "we need to remember that people make businesses work. And we need to relearn old lessons about how culture ties people together and gives meaning and purpose to their day-to-day lives" (p.5). One could argue that most

schools have strong cultures because of the enduring practices that persist in schools even if they have long ago ceased to be effective in educating today's students. Schools, however, serve diverse constituencies that have dictated a multitude of purposes for schools: custodial care for the young, academic achievement and student mastery of a set curriculum, physical development and well being, and a sorting and socialization function channeling students into appropriate roles. These diverse roles and expectations frequently have made it difficult for schools to develop a shared mission or vision and sense of purpose.

All of the schools had a written mission statement. The evidence from the interviews, however, indicated that not all staff members shared the mission, and in some cases, they were unable to articulate the mission. The staff at Whitney, Yosemite, and Pinyon articulated most clearly a common sense of purpose. The staff at Whitney and Pinyon were clearest in articulating an effective schools' goal that included mastery of basic skills by all children. In contrast, as was pointed out in the case studies, a shared mission did not exist at Tahoe and Sierra, the two least effective schools. Their written statements were never given significant meaning through the daily actions of the principal and staff.

Conclusion: In the most effective schools, the teachers clearly understood, shared, and could articulate the mission of the school.

High expectations. One of the cultural norms identified in the effective schools literature is high expectations. Expectations or beliefs about students are difficult to alter because one is required to change attitudes and beliefs. A comparison of Japanese and American educational systems (Stevenson, Lee, and Stigler, 1986) has pointed out that American schools

and families believe that success in school is determined by ability, which teachers frequently view as unalterable and linked to family background. Japanese families and schools, on the other hand, believe that student success in school is dependent upon hard work. These differences in how success in school is perceived are related to the high expectations correlate. To hold high expectations that all children can master the intended curriculum if instructional effectiveness is increased is more akin to the Japanese view than to the current American view of student ability as the determinant of school success. Thus, implementation of an effective schools model requires altering beliefs about the mission of the school and about practices that enable all students to learn.

Expectations for student success varied in the eight schools. The teachers at Whitney, Yosemite, Pinyon, and Shasta were the most optimistic about their ability to teach all students regardless of home background. They also expressed positive views about their students' ability to do well in school. The staff at each of the four most effective schools, Whitney, Yosemite, Pinyon and Lassen, expected their students would do well on standardized tests. This view was held by far fewer staff members at the other schools. One indication of how hard it is to change beliefs was revealed when analysis of the survey results showed that many of the same items addressing high expectations were rated the lowest at all eight schools (e.g. 95% of the student will graduate from high school, the same proportion of high and low income students are retained, teachers expect that 90% of the children will achieve identified standards, and all students can achieve identified standards regardless of home background). The differentiating factor among the schools was the number of staff members who agreed with

each statement. It was much higher in the more effective schools and lower in the less effective schools.

Pinyon and Yosemite present interesting examples of efforts to alter beliefs. Both schools served relatively high SES communities. This meant that for many students high expectations were held by their parents and the school primarily reinforced these expectations. Both schools also served 15% to 30% low SES students. When the initial effective schools surveys were completed, they revealed that the staff held low expectations for low SES students. Both schools addressed the problem through TESA training (most systematically at Yosemite) and through staff discussion of the impact of tracking and homogeneous grouping at Pinyon. The consequences of these actions, coupled with changes in curriculum and instructional practices, meant improved achievement for the lowest SES groups. As the case study at Yosemite showed, however, gains were quickly lost by reverting to practices that segregated students, undermined expectations, and distracted the school from its academic focus. At Whitney, expectations were raised not through TESA training, but through curriculum alignment that brought quick achievement gains and helped teachers to see that they could be successful in teaching low income students. In addition, as discussed above, the rewards and recognition programs for both students and staff helped to raise expectations both at school and in the community.

Holding high expectations did not directly translate into higher achievement for Shasta. The staff at Shasta had one of the highest percent agreements with the survey items dealing with high expectations, yet its overall achievement placed in the less effective category. Many of the staff members at Shasta had received training in TESA; therefore, they were aware of practices that limited or enhanced low-income students' learning

opportunities. Shasta's staff over the years of its improvement efforts had experienced some significant achievement gains by its largely poor and Hispanic student population. In 1989, the staff still expressed the belief that they could help all children learn, even though at this time they were experiencing difficulty in translating beliefs into action, especially at the sixth grade level. The high expectations at Whitney, Yosemite, Pinyon, Shasta, and Lassen seemed to confirm Scheerens and Creemers (1989) assertion that increasing achievement causes high expectations for the future. They have argued that the expectations-achievement correlation needs to be seen as reciprocal rather than as causal.

Conclusion: Training programs helped to raise teachers' expectations, but expectations rose more quickly when teachers saw gains in achievement through curriculum alignment and programs that increased achievement of the lowest income students.

Home-school relations. This correlate is closely linked with high expectations. High expectations are not likely if the staff blames families for poor achievement. The percent agreement on the home-school relations correlate was the only one of the correlates with an almost one-to-one correspondence between overall levels of achievement and the percent agreement. The exception was Lassen which met the criteria as one of the more effective schools, yet had one of the lower percent agreements on this correlate. First, Lassen, like Tahoe, was one of the only schools not to target home-school relations as an area for improvement. Teachers reported that little had changed in their relations with parents. Second, Lassen's staff, similar to the staff at Sierra and Tahoe, saw low income parents as one of the biggest barriers to increased student achievement. Third, although Lassen

met the effectiveness criteria, the level of achievement remained well below that of Whitney's, a school serving a similar population. Lassen's gains in student achievement seemed to have been attained through changes in district issued curriculum guidelines, well defined grade level objectives that were closely aligned to the state and district testing program as well as use of instructional strategies such as clinical teaching, cooperative learning, and a primary program called Workshop Way. Although Lassen had an active parent group and parent volunteers who were highly regarded, the staff was not working to embed high expectations in the community or making extra efforts to communicate and work with the the lowest income parents as was occurring at Whitney and Pinyon, and as had occurred at Yosemite. Two questions remain to be answered:

1. If student achievement continues to improve through instructional strategies or curriculum changes, will staff attitudes eventually become more positive both in terms of high expectations and home-school relations?

2. Will changes in attitudes toward expectations for students' success and relations toward parents need to change if Lassen is to attain the same level of achievement results as Whitney?

The work done at Sierra to improve home-school relations may offer another important perspective about home-school relations. Although many schoolwide activities were carried out to improve home-school relations (e.g., initiation of a school newsletter, hosting of numerous parent workshops in English and in Spanish, active recruitment of parent volunteers and genuine involvement of parents in school decision making), the actions did not appear to contribute to improved overall achievement as measured by standardized test scores as some of the parent involvement literature suggests it might (Henderson, 1983, 1987). While many of the parent

activities created a feeling of openness toward parents and parent surveys indicated positive parental opinions about the school, they did not seem to change teacher attitudes about parents. The interviews revealed that teachers saw lack of parent concern as a major barrier to improved achievement. This was in sharp contrast to the attitudes expressed at Whitney and Pinyon. One of the reasons for these more negative views toward parents may be that the staff had not experienced any gains in student achievement. Teachers felt frustrated in their efforts to raise test scores, and dysfunctional families became an easy scapegoat. Work by Johnson and Brookover (1989) has indicated that these lower expectations for parents may also negatively affect students' perceptions of themselves and their ability to do work. The staff at Whitney, Pinyon and Yosemite, in contrast, over the last five years developed more positive views toward parents, especially low income and Hispanic parents. The achievement gains reinforced initial teacher efforts to communicate more with parents. The case of Sierra illustrates how difficult the improvement process is and the complexity of the interrelationships among school effectiveness components.

Conclusion: Low teacher expectations for students translated into low expectations for parents. Initial gains in student achievement contributed to improved home school relations.

Curriculum and Instruction

Creating a culture of achievement and changing beliefs about the educability of all children are more likely to occur if achievement begins to increase. It is changes in the curriculum and instructional component that will most quickly bring about increased achievement. Test data analysis and curriculum alignment are two important elements that comprise this

component and that often shape the academic focus for the school. Staff development which addresses curriculum and instructional issues, frequent monitoring and time-on-task are also essential elements. Curriculum and instruction are the heart of the school and of each classroom. It is through them that the essential mission of the school is achieved. Based on the interviews, it was clear that all of the schools were directly impacted by state level curriculum changes in language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies. The staff at all eight schools were working to implement many of the approaches suggested in the state curriculum frameworks.

Most of the schools had introduced more math manipulatives into their curriculum. There was a greater focus on problem solving. The most effective school had implemented a hands-on, experimental science curriculum. All of the schools, while at different stages, were teaching written language through a more wholistic approach to writing and were moving to implement a reading program that used literature as well as or in place of the basic reading series. Almost all staff members interviewed were excited about the greater use of literature, which they felt was having a profound impact on the curriculum. Some teachers at each school, however, expressed concern that the shift in methods and materials would result in lower standardized test scores because there was an insufficient match between the new curriculum framework and the state test. Because of these shifts in curriculum, many teachers indicated they did not feel the CAP test was a valid measure of the curriculum. A comparison of the surveys completed in 1987 and in 1989 showed a decrease in the percentage of staff agreeing with this item in all schools, except Whitney. Thus curriculum alignment—the match between what is taught and what is tested—emerged as a significant issue in the improvement process.

Curriculum alignment. Lassen, Yosemite, Pinyon, and Sequoia were aided in their improvement efforts by districtwide curriculum alignment. The principal at Whitney, as described earlier, worked with his own staff to align the school's curriculum to the CAP test. The experience and training the staff at Whitney had in aligning its curriculum may be the reason that there was an increase rather than a decrease in the number of staff members who felt that the CAP test was a valid measure of the curriculum. Shasta, Tahoe, and Sierra, all in the same district, were not assisted in curriculum alignment until very recently when the district adopted a new mathematics textbook. Only the staff at Shasta seemed to have developed some skills in this area—at least in identifying objectives tested on CAP that were not covered in the textbook and in developing or ordering needed materials.

Conclusion: In the more effective schools, there was alignment of the curriculum with the material covered on standardized tests. Leadership from the district or the principal and curricular committees was essential in bringing about this alignment. Curriculum alignment resulted in better results on standardized tests which, in turn, increased the confidence of teachers in their ability to teach all students.

Use of test results. Curriculum alignment in large measure depends on the ability to analyze and use test data. Most staff members in all eight schools indicated that the principal reviewed and analyzed test results and stressed their importance. Whitney was the only school that had staff members trained to review and analyze the test data.

Three patterns emerged in response to how test data were used:

1. Use of test data to modify the instructional program. Almost all staff members at Whitney, Sequoia, Lassen, and Shasta said that test results were used to modify the instructional program. Only half to a third of the staff at Yosemite, Pinyon, Sierra and Tahoe said test results were used to modify the curriculum. One explanation for why teachers said that test data were not used to modify the curriculum might be that teachers felt the curriculum was set by district directives and the textbooks. This view was especially predominant in the interviews at Yosemite and Pinyon—schools in a district with a strong, centralized curriculum.

2. Use of standardized test results to provide feedback to individual teachers. Staff members at Pinyon and Yosemite reported that test results were discussed individually with teachers and they were expected to modify their instructional program to address deficiencies. Two district programs provided feedback to individual teachers: the monitoring system at Sequoia (called RMS, Reading Management system and MMS, Mathematics Monitoring System), and the district testing program at Lassen, which was aligned to CAP. In contrast, at Whitney, the principal did not focus on individual teachers, but discussed test results in the context of grade level teams.

3. Minimal use and rationalization of test results. This pattern was mentioned most often by staff members interviewed at Tahoe and Sierra.

Conclusion: While all schools reviewed test results, the more effective schools used the results to assist them in curriculum alignment, to modify the curriculum, and to alter the academic emphasis of individual teachers.

Academic focus. Results from the CAP test were often used to help determine the improvement areas on which the school would focus. If problem solving was determined to be weak, or math scores were down in general, extra effort would be devoted to that area. Staff members at Sierra and Tahoe mentioned that they chose to have staff development in the San Diego Writing Project as a result of analyzing their test data. Test data, however, were not used exclusively to set the foci. Even when an academic area did not require attention, textbook adoption cycles dictated that staff time and inservices be devoted to the new adoption. Similarly, the requirement to address all academic areas in the School Improvement Plan required that areas that had not been addressed in the previous year or two become the academic foci for the current year. Managing the pressures to address a variety of academic issues did not always prove an easy task for the schools.

The staff members at Pinyon, Yosemite, Whitney, and Sequoia were assisted in setting a focus by their district through the districts' staff development programs. For example, in the case of Whitney, for two years the major staff development focus in the district was in the area of hands-on science, another year it was math manipulatives. In addition, because these schools are located in relatively small districts, the entire school staff was often required to attend the inservices. As a result the district academic focus was more easily transferred to the site and became its focus. The staff development program for the district in which Sierra, Shasta, and Tahoe were located did not center around one or two topics and, therefore, did not contribute to the academic focus at the school sites.

Although all eight schools had these competing academic demands, the interviews revealed that the more effective schools tended to be more

academically focused, especially in areas of critical need determined by the staff. The academic focus was enhanced at Whitney, Yosemite, Pinyon, Sequoia, and Lassen through frequent monitoring and because the district staff development was more curriculum oriented than seemed to be the case for Sierra, Tahoe, and Shasta.

Conclusion: The more effective schools were assisted by their districts in setting an academic focus and were better able to manage competing academic foci.

Frequent monitoring. All of the schools were dealing with new programs, textbooks, instructional strategies, and constantly changing student populations. Monitoring all of these changes represented a challenging task. The interviews and surveys identified three major monitoring mechanisms: tests, grade level teams and curriculum committees, and principal observations and other monitoring actions. The use of test results to monitor, as discussed above, was used more systematically by the more effective schools and less so by the two least effective schools. In addition to the standardized tests, Sequoia had an individual monitoring system for reading and mathematics called RMS and MMS, respectively. These programs allowed teachers to track individual pupil progress. The staff at Lassen had the assistance of a districtwide testing program that allowed teachers to administer and score pre and post tests at the site.

Strong grade level teams and curriculum committees, which relate to school structures and organizational procedures (discussed below), played a critical monitoring role at Whitney, Pinyon, Sequoia, and Shasta. Lassen's grade level teams were involved more in monitoring after the adoption of the

district curriculum guidelines. Lassen did not have the strong curriculum committees that existed in the other schools. Yosemite had strong committees and grade level teams in place prior to the shift to four-track year round. These groups played a significant role in pushing the improvement efforts and monitoring progress, especially for the low income students. Sierra, as discussed in the case study, had strong loft teams that monitored activities in the third-fourth and fifth-sixth grade lofts. However, the staff felt there was little monitoring of the entire school program and there were no schoolwide curriculum committees to assist in the process. The school site council did meet quarterly to monitor implementation of the school improvement plan. The monitoring seemed to be more in the form of "Did we do what we said we would do?" rather than "Is what we did working to increase student achievement?"

The principal's role in monitoring progress was weakest at the three least effective schools. The district had placed a new emphasis on classroom observations using a clinical supervision model. The principals at Shasta, Sierra, and Tahoe were in the process of implementing these observations during the last year of the study. The staff at Sierra expressed appreciation for the principal's knowledge and skill in this area and felt that it was helpful. The observations, however, did not focus on other aspects of the program or other instructional strategies. The principals at Whitney, Yosemite, Pinyon, and Sequoia had been conducting clinical observations since the inception of their school effectiveness programs. The principal at Whitney, as a result of the effective schools surveys, increased the number of formal observations, with one observation per year focusing on the school's area of academic focus. The principal at Lassen conducted less formal observations; however, the staff indicated that he frequently dropped

into the classrooms and provided feedback to teachers. Again Yosemite's principal had monitored closely the implementation of changes and had conducted many more observations in the early phase of the school effectiveness process. The monitoring decreased significantly as a result of the implementation of the four-track year round schedule.

Conclusion: In the more effective schools, the principal and curriculum committees played a more active role in monitoring the implementation of the school improvement plan and student achievement gains.

Changes in instructional strategies and staff development. As a result of both site and district staff development programs, new instructional strategies were being implemented in all eight schools. The major difference was in the degree and uniformity of implementation and the length of time such practices had been in place. For example the staff at Whitney, Sequoia, Lassen, Pinyon, and Yosemite had all been trained in a clinical teaching-supervision model through districtwide staff development. The training had generally occurred between 1985 and 1987. New staff members were required to participate in clinical teaching inservices during their first year of employment. In contrast, at Shasta, Sierra, and Tahoe training of some staff members in the Essential Elements of Instruction had begun only as recently as 1987-88. During the next two years, the principals and trained staff members were to train the rest of the staff members at their site.

A similar pattern was found in the training on how to use math manipulatives, hands-on science, and cooperative learning. Training in the writing process did not fit the same model. The entire staff at Sierra, one of the less effective schools, was one of the first among the eight schools to be

extensively trained in the San Diego Writing Project. In contrast, the staff at Whitney had received only one workshop in the writing process. Teachers at Yosemite and Pinyon were being trained in 1987-88 through a series of district workshops. As mentioned in the Tahoe case study, training in the writing process was the first schoolwide staff development experience for the school.

Staff development and school improvement are closely linked. Teachers cannot improve their instructional practices unless they are given time and opportunities to learn and practice new skills. There was high agreement across all schools that principals encouraged participation in staff development and promoted staff development activities. Almost all teachers also agreed that the staff development activities helped them acquire new knowledge and skills and to apply them in the classroom. Again, most teachers in most schools agreed (with the exceptions of Lassen where 64% agreed and Yosemite where 52% agreed), that staff development was based on school goals.

Two problems regarding staff development surfaced in the surveys and interviews: First, most teachers in both more and less effective schools agreed that staff development was not evaluated on the basis of use in the classroom. Second, a number of staff members felt that there was a lack of sufficient training in new programs or instructional strategies and lack of follow through during the implementation phase. This problem was identified in research on implementation of change (Fullan, 1982; Fullan and Pomfret, 1977; Fuller & Malouf, 1985; Hall and Hord, 1987; Huberman, 1983; Huberman and Miles, 1984). It is a problem that can be especially acute in a school engaging in school improvement because several changes are being implemented at once. The staff at Sequoia, a school that showed

marked improvement in student achievement in the last three years, felt that their staff development program had improved in three ways. First, staff development tended to be more focused, with several sessions being held on a single topic so that skills could be better learned. Second, they felt there was more follow through because they were discussing implementation strategies and problems in staff meetings or grade level teams. Third, they felt that staff development activities were showing them how to integrate the curriculum and address the multiplicity of skills and subjects that they were required to teach.

As the case study of Whitney showed, the principal addressed the issue of follow through after staff development by monitoring lesson plans and collection of class work. In the case of Pinyon, Yosemite, Whitney, Lassen, and Sequoia, follow through was monitored through classroom observations. In the early days of Yosemite's improvement process, the math and reading resource teachers had played critical roles in assisting teachers in implementing new teaching strategies in their classrooms. The staff at Sierra and Tahoe, the two least effective schools, expressed frustration that often there was no follow through nor sufficient refresher courses so that new skills could become internalized.

Mentor teachers or teachers who had received special training in a particular instructional strategy proved helpful in reinforcing and sustaining the implementation of staff development activities. This role for mentors was part of the original intention of the California mentor program, but one that has not always been realized (Little, 1989). The staff at Sequoia, Pinyon and Whitney expressed appreciation for having the "experts" on their site who were able to assist them.

Although Shasta had difficulty in sustaining the same level of achievement growth as some of the other more effective schools, the staff efforts to improve oral language skills represented an interesting model. The staff, by and large, fit Fullan, Bennett, Rolheiser-Bennett's (1990) description of teacher as learner. Efforts made to improve oral language skills illustrate the interplay of the four key components of teacher as learner identified by Fullan and his colleagues: technical, reflective, researcher, and collaborator. The teachers had to learn through inservices and readings the technical knowledge needed to improve the development of oral language skills. To develop materials and implement the program, staff members met frequently. These regular meetings brought them together in collaborative work groups. The school had undertaken other collaborative efforts in the past so that the norm of collegiality existed and facilitated their cooperative effort. The program implementation involved experimentation and action research. After the first year, the staff reconvened to reflect on what had occurred and to modify the program in ways that would strengthen it and increase its impact on students. According to the teachers interviewed, the effort had resulted in the development of better oral language skills. Since oral language is not directly tested on the CAP test, the benefits of the staff's labor were not shown in higher test scores, especially in the short time frame of this study. The approach represents a model of staff development and improvement that, applied to other areas, has the potential of greatly enhanced student achievement. (Fullan 1990; Fullan, Bennett, Rolheiser-Bennett, 1990; Joyce and Showers, 1988; Rosenholtz, 1989).

The staff at Sierra and Tahoe, schools that also served large percentages of limited or non-English speaking students, stated in the interviews that they needed a much more systematic approach to teaching oral language;

yet, they lacked the organizational structures to implement the needed staff development. Furthermore, the norms of collegiality to develop a kindergarten through sixth grade program did not exist.

The results from this study tend to confirm that site based staff development, frequently led by teachers within the school was an effective method for improving staff skills and was more likely to have a lasting impact. In the smaller districts, district led staff development was effective because, in most cases, the entire staff from each school was involved in the training programs. The effectiveness was also enhanced if it was supported by site-based experts who provided on-going coaching. In the larger district, district conducted staff development did not appear to be as effective because a *potpourri* of workshops were offered to teachers that frequently had little relation to perceived site needs. In addition, usually only a few members from a site were trained and there were no provisions for them to become trainers at their own site.

To address some of these problems, the larger district was trying a two tiered model to train staff in the Essential Elements of Instruction (i.e., the principal and a core of staff members from each site were being trained who then had the responsibility to train the rest of the staff). This model seemed to offer a more effective approach for staff development in a large district. With a cadre trained at each site, coaching and follow-up, two essential elements for implementation of an innovation (Joyce and Showers, 1988; Little, 1982, 1989), were possible. Sierra's extensive site-based staff development program (discussed in the case study), combined with this model, had the potential of becoming, in Fullan's words, "an overall strategy for professional and institutional reform" (p. 16). Sierra, however, illustrated the close interaction of the four major components of the effective

school model. The staff development component's potential impact was limited by organizational structures and procedures, other curriculum and instructional issues, and cultural norms that prevented cross grade level collaboration.

Conclusion: Staff development in the more effective schools contributed significantly to increased achievement because it was of sufficient duration, involved large numbers of staff members, provided time for coaching and sharing of strategies, and the implementation of new skills were monitored by the principal or curriculum committees.

Organizational Structures and Procedures

Reports from the Carnegie Forum, A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century (1986), the Holmes Group, Tomorrow's Teachers (1986), the current emphasis on restructuring, and the research of Little (1982, 1989), and Rosenholtz (1989), have all stressed the need for greater roles for teachers in influencing school decisions, playing active leadership roles, and engaging in collaborative professional development. The existence of structures and organizational conditions that support school improvement are essential elements of an effective schools model. Supportive organizational procedures include such aspects as time for joint planning, encouragement of joint teaching, policies that support site-based staff development, and school improvement norms that engage the staff in self-examination and reflection about teaching practices. Supportive structures include grade level team meetings, curriculum committees, staff meetings that focus on instructional issues, and a school site council or steering committee that has responsibility for developing and monitoring a plan for improvement.

Committee structures that foster collaboration. The structures in each school that promoted or inhibited teachers working together can be related to Hargreaves' (cited in Fullan, 1990) typology of school cultures: fragmented individualism, Balkanization, contrived collegiality, and collaborative cultures. The two least effective schools had fewer organizational structures that contributed to developing a collaborative culture. At Tahoe, fragmented individualism was the dominate interaction pattern. There was also the danger of some Balkanization among teachers who had been in the school for many years versus the newcomers who were serving on the newly formed principal's core curriculum committee. The loft arrangement at Sierra created a working arrangement that is more typical of the Balkanization found among secondary school departments. Two of the three lofts represented very strong working teams that indeed demonstrated considerable collaborative efforts in planning lessons and team teaching. Compounding the Balkanization, in the third loft and among the self-contained classrooms there was individual fragmentation. Except for four yearly staff meetings, Sierra did not have committees that cut across grade levels or that involved the staff in collaborative curriculum planning. The staff felt that barriers were being broken through the schoolwide staff development programs, but without other structures that would enable them to share and practice what was being learned, they felt the unity the staff development created was being undermined.

In contrast, there seemed to be much stronger norms of professional collegiality and collaboration in evidence at Whitney, Yosemite, Pinyon, Lassen, Sequoia, and Shasta. All used grade level teams, curriculum committees, school site councils, and regular staff meetings as vehicles for teacher involvement. Teachers in these schools also indicated that informal

time in the teachers' lounge at lunch and recess were often devoted to planning and discussion of curriculum and instructional issues. At Sierra, teachers also used their lunch time for planning, but again, they were isolated in their lofts. In the case of Whitney, Pinyon, Yosemite, and Lassen, teachers were also frequently involved at the district level on district curriculum committees which were perceived as genuine opportunities for shaping decisions.

As discussed in the case study, in the early stages of its improvement efforts, Yosemite developed a strong committee structure and staff members assumed significant roles by researching and sharing new instructional strategies. The movement to four-track year round, however, undermined the team efforts, showing fragility of the new working relationships. The days of sharing were replaced by teachers Balkanized into four tracks, with those teaching the bilingual track feeling most isolated and segregated. In addition, there seemed to be a pattern of contrived collegiality emerging as the principal made efforts to bring teachers together across the tracks for specific projects or events but which was not seen as solving the fundamental segregation problem.

Conclusion: The more effective schools had organizational structures such as regular grade level meetings, curriculum committees, and staff meetings that focused on instruction, that facilitated communication, enabled the faculty to work together, and created a sense of the school as a whole.

Opportunities for shared decision-making. If structures exist for collaboration, a second critical issue is on what topics can teachers collaborate and make decisions. Teachers at all schools were involved in writing the school improvement plan. Only at Tahoe was there some

concern about how the new plan being developed by the core curriculum committee would be integrated with the existing school improvement plan on which everyone had worked. In addition, the teachers interviewed at Tahoe did not feel they had a significant role in decision making.

The teachers at Lassen, Whitney, Sequoia, Yosemite, and Pinyon taught a prescribed district curriculum. Within that framework, teachers felt they had leeway in applying instructional strategies within their own classroom. Teachers at Lassen and Whitney, in particular, mentioned that they were supported by their administrator to try new approaches. As one teacher at Whitney said, "There was freedom as long as they met their achievement goal." The teachers did not indicate disagreement with the curriculum. In fact, at Lassen the teachers felt the district curriculum guide had made a significant impact on helping the school to improve. More significantly, several Lassen teachers stated that the curriculum guide had served as a focal point for grade level discussions. Teachers were now sharing strategies and plans for meeting curriculum objectives. Shasta, Sierra, and Tahoe did not operate with closely prescribed curriculum objectives. One could argue that these teachers had more potential for meaningful involvement in site level curriculum planning. As cited earlier, the staff at Shasta had been extensively involved in developing an oral language curriculum. This was not the case, however, at Sierra and Tahoe because there were neither the structures nor the time for schoolwide curriculum planning.

Conclusion: Teachers in the more effective schools had clear curriculum guidelines and felt empowered to shape the instructional processes within their own classrooms. There were strong norms of professional collegiality and structures that enabled teachers to work together.

Instructional Leadership

The term instructional leadership, relatively new to educational literature, originated from effective schools research. The term is intended to differentiate between actions of principals needed for school improvement from more traditional roles principals fulfill as administrator, building manager, and community relations specialist. The term implies that a principal who is an instructional leader is more actively engaged in instructional issues. In a review of eight effective schools studies, Sweeney (1982) identified six instructional leadership behaviors of principals that were fairly consistent across the studies. These behaviors were:

1. Coordinate instructional programs
2. Emphasize achievement
3. Frequently evaluate pupil progress
4. Establish an orderly atmosphere
5. Define instructional strategies
6. Support teachers. (p. 349)

The studies reviewed by Sweeney were primarily focused on describing schools in low SES communities. More recent studies (Hallinger and Murphy, 1985; Rowan and Denk, 1984; Teddlie, Falkowski, Stringfield, Desselle, and Garvue, 1984) have compared the behaviors of principals in effective schools in high and low SES communities. Hallinger and Murphy (1989) have characterized the actions of the instructional leader in an effective low SES school in the following way:

Faced with the task of turning a school around, the principals in effective low SES schools appear more directive and forceful in setting high standards for students and teachers (Hallinger and

Murphy, 1985; Rowan and Denk, 1984). They buffer their schools from the environment and attempt to create a learning climate that communicated high expectations and that rewards students for the desired behavior. (p. 14).

In contrast, in high SES effective schools, their description of the behavior of principals had far less to do with instruction and more to do with community relations.

These principals tend to exert less direct control over the internal operations of the school. The high visibility of parents in and around the school represented a form of environmental control over internal processes. Thus, their role involves maintaining a consensus over the school's direction, mediating the demands and expectations of the community, and smoothing relations between teachers and parents. (p. 15).

These descriptions illustrate two important points. First, the term instructional leadership has remained undefined (Rost, 1987; Scheerens and Creemers, 1990; Van de Grift, 1990). Second, the effort to define the term by describing behaviors may be problematic because behaviors that are appropriate in one context may not be appropriate in another.

In a recent article, Van de Grift (1990) highlighted the difficulties of a behavioral definition of instructional leadership in his critique of several studies of instructional leadership. First, he questioned the validity and reliability of the assessment instruments used in a number of studies to evaluate the principal's instructional leadership. Second, he pointed out that the correlations between the instructional leadership score and student achievement were weak or negative on more than half of the instructional leadership behaviors assessed. Third, he criticized the researchers for not

reporting, except in the appendices, areas in which there was a negative correlation or in which principals in more and less effective schools behaved similarly.

Van de Grift also discussed the work of Andrews and Bamburg (1987, 1989), which was based on a valid and reliable assessment tool and which did show a significant correlation between teacher assessment of a principal as a strong instructional leader and high student achievement. While Van de Grift did not dispute their findings, when he conducted a similar study in The Netherlands using teacher assessments of Dutch principals, he did not find the same strong positive correlation with student achievement.

In this study, a similar approach to the one used by Andrews and Bamburg in assessing teachers' perceptions of instructional leadership by the principal was employed. However, the measure of effectiveness was aggregate grade level achievement gains at third and sixth grade over four years, not individual pupil gains over two years. While the assessment instrument was similar and has been tested for reliability and construct validity, the items do not describe exactly the same behaviors as either the Washington (Andrews and Bamburg, 1989) Effective Schools survey or the instrument used in the Dutch studies.

The findings from the eight schools involved in this study tend to confirm those of Van de Grift. There was not a significant correlation between the survey results and student achievement. In other words, three schools, Yosemite, Pinyon, and Lassen, which met the criteria of effectiveness, had lower overall mean scores on the instructional leadership correlate than did Shasta and Sierra which were less effective. This does not mean that instructional leadership was not occurring. Rather the problem may lie in trying to define instructional leadership by specific behaviors in

widely varying contexts, using different assessment instruments, and different standards or criteria for determining effectiveness. Foster (1986) has asserted that there is a need to allow the study of leadership "to be conceptualised differently: it must allow for historical and hermeneutic approaches; it must abandon the search for quantified rigour; it must lose the reductionist and uncritical mentality of orthodox social science" (p. 9).

Moving a school to greater effectiveness calls for leadership because it requires a transformation of the school. In the context of this study, leadership is defined as an influence relationship among principal, school staff, students, community, and district staff intended to bring about changes in the culture, curriculum and instruction, and organization of the school so that there are significant and equitable achievement gains for all ethnic and income groups. Based on this definition, effective schools leadership encompasses four broad dimensions: shared vision or mission, shared leadership, shared learning, and a commitment to change. Based on data from this study and the work of others (Bennis and Nanus, 1985; Fullan, et al., 1990; Rosenholtz, 1989; Rosow and Zager, 1989; Rossman, Corbett, and Firestone, 1988), these dimensions of leadership are more likely to bring about long lasting change that transforms the school to an institution where all children master the basic curriculum.

Shared vision. As was discussed above, the staff in the more effective schools were able to articulate a consistent and coherent vision or mission statement. In the two least effective schools a shared mission was not expressed. The principal at Tahoe had a sense of what he wanted to accomplish. His vision was a transforming one. He clearly wanted to raise achievement levels and increase the academic success rate of his largely

poor and limited English speaking students. By the conclusion of this study, he had not yet developed a shared vision with his staff. At Sierra, the staff shared a common social goal for students, but there was not a shared vision in regard to academic achievement goals.

The shared visions at the more effective schools were continually evolving. Rost (1987) has stressed that "purpose is usually not static but is constantly changing as leaders and followers come and go, as the influence process works its effects on both leaders and followers, and as circumstances, environment, and wants and needs impact on the relationship" (p. 3). One of the influencing and mediating factors in both sets of schools was student gains or lack thereof on standardized tests. As student achievement rose, it appears that the staff in the more effective schools developed a stronger academic mission and began to believe that all children could learn the intended curriculum. For example, at Whitney, in the first few years, safety and order was the primary mission. In time, as achievement began to rise, a clear academic focus emerged. In contrast, as long as Sierra and Tahoe continued to have no achievement gains, it was difficult to develop a shared vision that focused on academic achievement.

Commitment to change. Vision has been defined as what can and should be. Thus by definition if a school staff has a shared vision, there is a commitment to change. To increase a school's effectiveness requires vision, commitment to change, and a significant transformation. It requires developing fundamentally different assumptions about the function of schools, the achievement of students, and the distribution of educational benefits. Traditional beliefs about schools, especially beliefs in the sanctity of the bell shaped curve, grouping practices, and A to F grades, are hard to

change. It is no wonder that the term "maverick" is frequently used to describe leaders in the early descriptions of inner city effective schools.

Like vision, the commitment to change seemed much more prevalent among staff members in the more effective schools than in the less effective schools. At both Sierra and Tahoe the staff expressed frustrations at the changes in the community and wished that parents would change and behave more like middle class white parents, or in one case, like middle class Filipino parents. As one teacher at Sierra said, "We are doing all we can do." In contrast, teachers at Whitney talked about wanting to get all students to the ninetieth percentile.

The principal at Tahoe knew he had not reached his goal, and he was committed to continued efforts by himself and his staff. Unfortunately, the staff that were interviewed did not believe in the goal, were not part of the change effort, and therefore, did not share the same commitment to change.

Shared leadership. Fullan and his colleagues (1990) in their model of school improvement eliminated leadership as a separate component. They replaced instructional leadership with the concept of teacher (including principal) as learner as the link that bridges classroom and schoolwide improvement. Shared leadership, however, was identified as one of two key factors that drove the framework.

The second driving force for change is leadership and mobilization. We explicitly rejected the idea that leadership be a particular component of the framework. Leadership can, does, and must come from a variety of different sources. Any framework must allow for the fact that leadership critical for success comes from different sources in different situations (and different sources in the same situation over

time). Leadership for success variously comes from the principal, key teachers, the superintendent, parents, trustees, curriculum consultants, governments, universities, etc. As the list reveals, the driving force for change can initially come from inside or outside the school, and from a variety of different roles. Once the model is fully functioning, leadership does indeed come from multiple sources simultaneously. Certainly the principal, for example is key, but leadership must be mobilized on multiple fronts for long term development to occur. (p. 16).

Fullan et al. are correct in assuming that leadership can be exercised by numerous players both inside and outside the school. In this study, it was clear that district leadership played a role in several key instances (e.g., curriculum alignment, test analysis, staff development) that enabled the more effective schools to change faster than was possible in the less effective schools. State leadership dramatically affected curriculum, especially in the area of language arts and mathematics.

At the school site level, Hord, Stiegelbauer and Hall (1984) found that in more effective schools, principals did not lead by themselves. There were often one or two other change agents who played critical roles. Andrews (1987) found in his analysis that principals who were perceived as strong leaders by teachers were also the most active in nurturing leadership in others, especially teachers. It is through shared leadership that a group can be mobilized for action.

As was discussed at several points in the four case studies, teachers were actively involved in leadership roles. This was especially true in the most effective schools. The principals at Pinyon and Sequoia had a talented pool of mentor teachers on which to draw for instructional leadership. The

principals at Whitney and Yosemite trained and supported teacher leaders. In contrast, in the less effective schools, collaborative leadership was not the norm. At Sierra, there were loft leaders, but the loft structure inhibited them from becoming schoolwide leaders. At Tahoe, the principal had made some beginning efforts to develop leadership by establishing the core curriculum committee. However, by the conclusion of this study, it had not been in operation for a sufficient period of time to assess its impact on the school and on student achievement.

Shared learning. Fullan et al. (1990) captured an important dimension of leadership in placing teachers/educators as learners in the center of their school improvement framework. If leadership is conceived as an influence relationship, then learning and teaching have to be a central feature of the influence process. If leadership is bringing about "real intended change" (Rost, 1987), learning is absolutely essential. Without a critical diagnosis of the present status and exploration of ways to move from the current to the desired condition, change is not likely to occur.

The interviews with the principals revealed that the principals in all eight schools were learners. They had not all been equally successful in achieving the goals they had intended, but all were reflective and thoughtful about the processes in which they and the staff had been engaged. Also, they all encouraged learning by their staff. The excitement expressed by staff members in all eight schools regarding their use of cooperative learning or of literature in their reading program attested to the learning they had done in the last four years. Even though Sierra had not had student achievement gains to celebrate, the staff was genuinely pleased and excited by the staff development they had undertaken. They all felt that they were

better teachers as a result. Only Tahoe had failed to develop a strong learning culture. While not all principals and their staff had been successful in transforming their schools into achievement cultures, all but one, had been successful in establishing a learning culture.

In summary, in all eight schools leadership was taking place. Like many of the other dimensions of effectiveness, the differences were in degree. The more effective schools exhibited higher levels of shared vision, commitment to change, shared leadership, and shared learning.

Conclusion: Analyzing and assessing specific behaviors of principals and other leaders may be helpful, especially in guiding actions that will increase effectiveness in particular contexts; however, these specific behaviors may not capture the essence of leadership. A broader definition of leadership as an influence relationship among principal, staff, community, and district that focuses on shared leadership, shared vision, commitment to change, and shared learning helps to explain the way leadership serves as the driving force in school improvement and brings about changes in the other three components so that the outcome is improved achievement for all students.

Recommendations for Practice

From the analysis of the data presented in this study, several recommendations for practitioners and policy-makers can be made. First, school district administrators' actions, policies, and procedures can help or hinder site level school improvement efforts. District policies and actions that proved especially helpful were: (a) an achievement focus and high expectations for school staff and principal, (b) curriculum alignment, especially when new texts were adopted, (c) staff development if it

addressed identified needs and almost all staff members from a site participated, (d) test analysis, especially if it helped the principal understand the results and identify areas for improvement, (e) allocation of time for the school staff to engage in site planning, (f) development of strong mentor programs that supported site based staff development and co-teaching and learning among staff members.

Second, this study showed that it is possible to raise the achievement of students in all income/parent occupational categories within existing budgets. The task of increasing student achievement, however, is very difficult in schools serving large numbers of limited and non-English speaking students. District administrators and state policy makers interested in school improvement must recognize that schools operate in a turbulent environment . Perturbations in the environment, such as growth or decline in student populations, changing demographics, large infusions of limited or non-English speaking students, and changes in principals, all impact school improvement efforts. When such disruptions occur, district administrators may need to provide additional temporary support, assistance, and planning if improvement efforts are not to be derailed. Such support might include additional administrative assistance during the implementation phase of a four track year round schedule; designation of an instructional leader for each track; or increased planning time for the staff. Providing additional bilingual staff to schools receiving large numbers of non-English speaking students so that class size can be lowered may also be necessary. When a vacancy for the principalship occurs, there may need to be greater input by the staff in the selection process and a longer transition time (e.g. in one of the more effective schools where a leadership change occurred, the person

who became principal served as a vice principal in the school for several months prior to becoming principal).

Third, the model of school effectiveness presented in Figure 1.1 seems to capture the essential dimensions of school life that need to be addressed in achieving and sustaining increased effectiveness. The elements, as diagramed, do not fully convey the interactive nature of the components. Improvement of a single element was not sufficient to increase and sustain high level of achievement for all subgroups. Sustained achievements came only from the positive interaction of a number of components. Furthermore, the data indicated that the organizational structures that facilitated collaboration, shared decision-making, communication, and problem-solving were essential to bring about changes in climate and culture and curriculum and instruction. More attention needs to be paid to establishing curriculum committees and temporary problem-solving task forces that bring teachers together in both typical and atypical patterns as well as maintaining grade level team meetings and all school staff meetings that focus on instructional issues.

Fourth, there is a need to recognize that increasing a school's effectiveness is an ongoing and long term process. However, some achievement gains are needed in the short run to keep the momentum going. Therefore, curriculum alignment, a focus on test taking strategies, and preparation of students for tests are important first steps for long term improvement. Student achievement gains on standardized test will give staff needed encouragement to engage in even more substantive changes. Failure to make any gains is likely to lead to blaming the victim, factionalization among staff, and discouragement about further improvement efforts.

Fifth, staff development that impacts student achievement and contributes to a school's overall institutional development can be either site or district based. However, it must meet five important criteria to be effective: (a) address identified and felt needs, (b) involve a significant number of staff members, (c) be of sufficient duration that skills are learned and teachers given opportunities to practice the skills in their classrooms, (d) provide for follow-up coaching and sharing among teachers to work out implementation problems, and (e) be monitored by the principal and/or designated staff committee.

Sixth, if policy makers and district leaders are interested in increased achievement, they must help the school staff understand the validity of current measures and, at the same time, must develop other measures of student growth and mastery that reflect more accurately the curriculum they are asking teachers to teach. Unless, there is a close alignment of the curriculum to the tests, schools do not know whether they have been effective in teaching students the intended curriculum. Furthermore, the current standardized tests measure a very narrow range of school skills. While they may be necessary for district, state and countrywide comparisons, other measures are needed so that teachers can more accurately assess how well they are teaching skills such as writing, oral language, the scientific method, innovativeness, problem-solving and critical thinking. With more complete assessment tools, teachers will have a better means of assessing their own effectiveness as well as that of their students.

Finally, implementing school effectiveness requires transformational leadership. To bring an effective school into being demands change; it requires the development of a new set of values and beliefs about the function of schools in society, about the distribution of educational benefits,

and about the relationship between principal, staff, and community. It calls for a critical dialogue and a political decision about what is, can, and should be. This means that traditional methods of selecting and training principals may no longer suffice. Districts who want increased achievement while maintaining the status quo—two diametrically opposed goals—may need to rethink how principals and staff are selected and supported. The late Ron Edmonds stated the issue precisely when he said:

We can, whenever and wherever we choose successfully teach all children whose schooling is of interest to us. We already know more than we need to do that; whether or not we do it must finally depend on how we feel about the fact that we haven't done it so far. (p. 23).

A number of schools in this study proved the truth of Edmonds statement. They were choosing to use all that they knew and to learn what they needed to know in order to successfully teach all children.

Areas for Further Research

Research projects almost always raise more questions than they answer and this is certainly true in the case of this small scale study of eight schools. Several areas for further research emerged. First, more of the schools were successful in increasing their effectiveness as measured by standardized tests with third grade students than they were with sixth grade. The sixth grade CAP test covers a wider range of more complex skills and assesses more complex levels of knowledge and understanding. To be successful in increasing achievement by the sixth grade may require even more vigorous or more targeted improvement efforts. More work needs to be done to determine if there are significant differences in classroom practices between

lower and upper elementary grades that would explain the differences in outcomes. Also, there is a need to compare demographically and ethnically matched fourth, fifth, and sixth grade classrooms in more and less effective schools to identify variables that might help to explain the differences in levels of achievement. Within a school effectiveness context, a focus on the classroom level would contribute to increased understanding of the relationship between school effects and teacher effectiveness. The lack of classroom observations was a significant weakness in this study.

A second question that remains unanswered is: do both low and middle income students from an effective elementary school continue to achieve at a higher level in junior high and high school or does their achievement vary depending on the degree of effectiveness of the next level of schooling? In other words, can early gains be sustained, or are they dependent upon each school being effective? This question has important policy implications regarding the allocation of resources and concentration of improvement efforts. If early gains can be sustained, it would indicate that resources need to be concentrated at the elementary level. If on the other hand, gains can be lost through attending ineffective junior and senior high schools, resources and improvement efforts need to be occurring at all levels.

A third line of inquiry needs to address the ways in which effectiveness and achievement are assessed. There is a need for a wider variety of measurements, both academic and affective, to assess student growth and progress. For example, it would be valuable to know if students in effective schools who had high levels of achievement on standardized tests would also score equally well on a direct assessment of writing, oral language presentations, higher order thinking skills, and sense of efficacy and self esteem measures. In addition, a wider variety of measures of effectiveness

would answer concerns of teachers that many of the skills that they teach students are not measured by current standardized tests.

A fourth issue that needs to be addressed is: what is the relationship between effective schools and effective teaching research and district efforts to restructure? Restructuring is designed to increase the autonomy of the individual school site to plan and shape its own program to best meet the needs of students. The data gathered from this and others studies indicate that the empowerment of teachers through collaborative problem solving and decision making mechanisms is an important factor contributing to increased effectiveness. While the effective schools and effective teaching research should not be viewed as yielding easily applied formulas, the data indicate that certain activities and approaches lead to better student outcomes than others. How can and should this information be used to guide school teams involved in restructuring? Will schools involved in restructuring achieve the same or better outcomes for students as schools engaged in a school effectiveness process?

The restructuring questions raise a fifth research issue: what should be the role and relationship of the district in restructuring and school improvement processes? The data from this study, and from the work of others (Hallinger and Murphy, 1982; LaRocque and Coleman, 1987) indicate that district actions can facilitate or impede school level improvements. The restructuring literature argues for a relationship between district and school sites that focuses on facilitation of site activities as opposed to direction and oversight of these activities by district administrators. District facilitation has an important role in the school effectiveness process, but the literature also indicates that when a district sets clear district goals, monitors student outcomes, selects, trains, and provides ongoing coaching for site principals,

assists with curriculum alignment and pays attention to curriculum issues, student achievement is enhanced. Studies need to be conducted of districts that are engaged in restructuring versus districts that are engaged in school effectiveness programs to assess similarities and differences in processes and outcomes for students and staff.

Most teachers in all schools felt that pull out programs were disruptive. A sixth critical research issue is to examine the differences between pull out programs, Chapter I and bilingual programs in effective versus ineffective schools. Data are needed to determine the relationships between effective Chapter I, bilingual, and special education programs and effective schools.

A seventh issue that would benefit from further research is a better understanding of the relationship between the socioeconomic status of schools and effective schools practices. Research by Hallinger and Murphy (1988) and Teddlie et al. (1990) indicated that leadership in effective schools manifested itself in different ways in high SES schools compared to low SES schools. Data from this study showed that in two high SES schools with 15 to 20 percent low SES students, achievement was enhanced when the principals engaged in behaviors more typical of a low SES school than when they behaved in the manner that Hallinger and Murphy had found in high SES schools. Since there are many more mixed schools serving low, middle, and high SES students together, there is a need for more research to identify differences and similarities of more and less effective schools in neighborhoods with a diverse range of socioeconomic status among students.

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APPENDIX A
San Diego County Effective Schools Survey

SCHOOL PERSONNEL

**THE
SAN DIEGO COUNTY
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS SURVEY**

(Elementary Form)

Adapted From:

Connecticut School Effectiveness Questionnaire
Glendale Effective Schools Assessment Instrument
Items from California AB551, 803, Model Curriculum Standards,
School Improvement Program, and Other Resources

Revised 9/86

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San Diego County Office of Education

**THE SAN DIEGO COUNTY OFFICE OF EDUCATION
EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS SURVEY**

Introduction

This survey is one component of the San Diego County Office of Education School Effectiveness Assessment Process. The questions are based on items from the Connecticut School Effectiveness Questionnaire and the Glendale Effective Schools Assessment Instrument. Other items have been included that are based on school and instructional effectiveness research.

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Please **DO NOT MARK** the survey. All responses are to be recorded on a separate answer sheet.
2. All questions have five (5) possible responses. Record your answer by marking the appropriate number on the answer sheet. (Use a #2 pencil.) The response categories for each item are:
 - 1 = Strongly Disagree
 - 2 = Disagree
 - 3 = Don't Know
 - 4 = Agree
 - 5 = Strongly Agree
3. Although some questions may seem to warrant a Yes-No response, the response categories permit you to indicate the intensity of your feelings in relation to the item.
4. *Your* perceptions based on *your* experience in this school are important.
5. The person administering this survey is available to answer *procedural* questions, but it is your interpretation of each item that is important.
6. Each item must be read carefully. There is not a time limit. Completion of this survey is expected to take approximately thirty (30) minutes.

SAN DIEGO EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS SURVEY
(Elementary Level)

KEY TO ANSWER SHEET

- 1 = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Don't Know
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Strongly Agree

1. In general, teachers expect almost all of their students to do well on norm-referenced (standardized) tests such as CAP or CTBS.
2. The principal makes frequent informal contacts with students and teachers.
3. The principal regularly gives feedback to teachers regarding their instructional techniques.
4. Students are held accountable for maintaining school rules throughout the year.
5. The results of teacher-made tests or chapter tests are used to diagnose student strengths and weaknesses.
6. Students are encouraged to express themselves through questioning and classroom discussion.
7. Teachers in this school base grading on students' achievement of subject matter rather than students' behavior.
8. Classroom tests are given at the end of each instructional unit.
9. Property of staff members is secure.
10. Vandalism or destruction of school property by students is *not* a problem.
11. Follow-up assistance (materials, coaching, etc.) is provided by the administration for implementing skills learned in staff development activities.
12. Property of students is secure.
13. There is a positive school spirit.
14. Special instructional programs are coordinated with the school curriculum and classroom instruction.
15. Phone calls, newsletters, regular notes, and conferences are ways that most teachers communicate with parents in this school.
16. Textbooks and other materials are selected on the basis of how well they support learning objectives.
17. Teachers in this school believe that all students can achieve basic reading skills.
18. To the best of my knowledge, written standards for language arts exist.
19. The principal emphasizes participation by teachers in staff development activities related to instructional improvement.
20. Teachers in this school spend more time communicating with parents about the good things students do than about the bad.
21. Students and staff members take pride in the school and help to keep buildings and grounds clean and attractive.
22. Administrative leadership is available to resolve disagreements that develop among staff members.
23. The time set aside for basic skill instruction is free from interruptions (e.g., intercom, messages, assemblies).
24. Teachers in this school believe that all students can achieve basic writing skills.
25. Teachers stress academic achievement as a priority for their students.
26. The principal reviews and interprets test results with the faculty.
27. Students in this school try to succeed in their classes.

SAN DIEGO EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS SURVEY
(Elementary Level)

KEY TO ANSWER SHEET

- 1 = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Don't Know
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Strongly Agree

28. Reteaching and specific skill remediation are important parts of the teaching process.
29. Many students are acknowledged and rewarded for academic improvements and achievements in this school.
30. Students treat each other respectfully and are not subject to verbal abuse by other students.
31. Parents are encouraged to share ideas for school improvement with administration and staff in this school.
32. This school is a safe and secure place to work during the normal school day.
33. Few discipline problems are referred to the office.
34. The principal is accessible to discuss matters dealing with instruction.
35. Staff members enforce the student rules consistently and equitably.
36. The principal emphasizes the meaning and use of standardized test results.
37. The activities of the parent group support the school's goals.
38. Students are frequently rewarded or praised by faculty and staff for following school rules.
39. Teachers in this school believe that all students can achieve basic math skills.
40. Parents frequently initiate contacts with classroom teachers.
41. Teachers and the principal thoroughly review and analyze test results to plan instructional program modifications.
42. Teachers hold students accountable for clear and accurate writing regardless of the subject matter.
43. The staff development program is regularly evaluated by the staff.
44. Instructional issues are frequently the focus of faculty meetings.
45. Ninety to one-hundred percent of my students' parents attend scheduled parent-teacher conferences.
46. A primary focus of staff development activities at our school is the application of knowledge and skills in the classroom.
47. Almost all students complete assigned homework before coming to school.
48. Students must master the essential academic skills being taught before proceeding to the next learning task.
49. Students are given specific feedback on assignments.
50. Time allocated for basic skill instruction is consistently followed in each classroom.
51. Parent-teacher conferences focus on factors directly related to student achievement.
52. The physical condition of this school building is generally pleasant and well kept.
53. To the best of my knowledge, written standards in mathematics exist.
54. Teachers and parents are aware of the homework policy in this school.
55. Students are engaged in learning activities until the end of each instructional period.
56. Students not achieving identified standards are given additional help until standards are achieved.
57. The California Assessment Program is an accurate and valid measure of the basic skills curriculum.

SAN DIEGO EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS SURVEY
(Elementary Level)

KEY TO ANSWER SHEET

- 1 = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Don't Know
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Strongly Agree

58. Students in my class have frequent opportunities to work cooperatively together in small heterogeneous groups.
59. Students are offered multiple opportunities to practice new skills in both group and individual settings.
60. In this school, the staff development program is evaluated based on evidence of use in the classroom.
61. Administrators support teachers in dealing with student discipline matters.
62. The principal and staff plan the staff development program.
63. Multiple methods are used to assess student progress (e.g., criterion-referenced tests, work samples, criteria check lists, etc.)
64. Students in my class estimate answers to computations and frequently use mental arithmetic.
65. Alternative teaching strategies are provided to students having difficulty mastering a skill.
66. Homework is regularly assigned.
67. In spite of home background, you feel you can successfully teach 90-95% of your students.
68. Seventy-five percent or more of the parents attend open house or back-to-school night.
69. Parent-teacher conferences seldom result in specific plans for home-school cooperation aimed at improving students' classroom achievement.
70. Staff members are treated respectfully by students and not subject to verbal abuse.
71. Cooperation exists between parents and teachers in regard to homework monitoring.
72. Teachers contact parents in this school on a regular basis.
73. There is an active parent group in this school.
74. Teachers expect that over ninety-five percent of students in this school will graduate from high school.
75. A variety of teaching strategies are used in my classroom (e.g., lectures, discussion, cooperative/team learning, etc.).
76. To the best of my knowledge, written standards in fine arts exist.
77. Teachers in all subject areas require students to do reading, writing, listening, and speaking.
78. In this school, parents are aware of the discipline policy.
79. Practice work following direct instruction is planned so students will be highly successful.
80. Most parents have a clear understanding of the school's goals.
81. The mathematics program in my class includes concepts and activities from: number, measurement, geometry, patterns and functions, statistics and probability, and logic.
82. Learning activities that address all learning modalities (e.g., visual, auditory, kinesthetic/tactile) are provided in my classroom.
83. A primary focus of staff development activities at our school is the acquisition of new skills.

SAN DIEGO EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS SURVEY
(Elementary Level)

KEY TO ANSWER SHEET

- 1 = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Don't Know
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Strongly Agree

84. The principal is active in promoting staff development activities.
85. Most teachers in this school believe that all students can achieve identified standards in each subject area.
86. Students receive immediate feedback on their homework and are provided with specific suggestions for improvement.
87. In general, teachers expect almost all of their students to do well on teacher prepared tests.
88. Most homework assigned to students is independent practice on what has already been learned in class.
89. This school's written statement of purpose defines academic goals that focus on student learning and achievement as this school's major responsibilities.
90. Classroom instruction is generally free from interruption from outside maintenance. (mowing the lawn, repairs, etc.)
91. Two hours or more are allocated for reading/language arts each day throughout this school.
92. Fifty minutes or more are allocated for mathematics instruction each day.
93. Classroom observations conducted by the principal are focused on improving instruction.
94. Most students in this school are eager and enthusiastic about learning.
95. I consistently hold high academic expectations for all students.
96. A written statement of purpose exists for this school.
97. Objectives in each subject area are the focal point of instruction in this school.
98. Reteaching and specific skill remediation are important parts of the instructional process in this school.
99. In our school, there is a staff development program based on school goals.
100. Students are taught the school rules.
101. Teachers are held accountable for teaching skills or concepts contained in course outlines.
102. The results of teacher-made tests or chapter tests are used to plan for reteaching.
103. The curriculum, instruction, and assessment are aligned with teaching objectives.
104. In general, administrative leadership is effective in resolving problems concerning the educational program at this school.
105. Most parents rate this school superior.
106. Problem solving is an integral part of almost all activities in my mathematics program.
107. The parent organization at this school is considered important by the administration.
108. Instructional leadership from the principal is clear, strong, and centralized in this school.
109. In this school, over 90% of the students are expected to achieve identified standards.
110. The school buildings are kept in good repair.
111. Class is rarely interrupted to discipline students.
112. Teachers, administrators, parents, and students share responsibility for maintaining discipline in this school.

SAN DIEGO EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS SURVEY
(Elementary Level)

KEY TO ANSWER SHEET

- 1 = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Don't Know
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Strongly Agree

- 113. Most parents are aware of the instructional objectives at each grade level and in each subject area.
- 114. Parents and/or community members are frequent volunteers in this school.
- 115. I have social studies materials that are adequate for the students' reading abilities in my classroom.
- 116. Before a formal observation, the principal and teacher discuss what the principal will observe.
- 117. Low-achieving students are given the same opportunities to answer questions as often as other students in class.
- 118. Teachers provide activities that develop critical thinking skills.
- 119. Students' homework is monitored at home.
- 120. Daily lessons in my room typically follow this sequence: focusing students on the intended learning, teacher presentation, guided practice, specific feedback, independent work, and evaluation of achievement.
- 121. Teachers in this school feel they are capable of helping all students achieve identified standards.
- 122. Students are grouped for instruction based upon diagnosed needs.
- 123. Written standards for reading are included in course descriptions for all subject areas and grade levels.
- 124. All students in my class are expected to be successful in their school work.
- 125. Most parents support school personnel when their child is disciplined for violation of rules.
- 126. The parent organization at this school is considered important by the teaching staff.
- 127. In mathematics, most initial instruction is presented to the whole class.
- 128. The principal initiates effective coordination of the instructional program.
- 129. This school has a written homework policy.
- 130. Pull out programs (e.g., Chapter I, Special Ed., Gifted, etc.) are coordinated with basic skills instruction.
- 131. Teachers are responsible for helping students reach standards of clear and accurate writing.
- 132. The principal seeks ideas and suggestions from the staff.
- 133. After a formal classroom observation, the teacher and principal develop a plan for instructional improvement.
- 134. The principal makes several formal classroom observations each year.
- 135. In general, requests for repairs or alterations to facilities are responded to in a reasonable amount of time.
- 136. Students generally believe that school rules are reasonable and appropriate.
- 137. Teachers treat students with respect.
- 138. Class starts promptly at the beginning of each instructional period.
- 139. The principal and faculty can solve most problems facing this school.

SAN DIEGO EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS SURVEY
(Elementary Level)

KEY TO ANSWER SHEET

- 1 = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Don't Know
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Strongly Agree

- 140. The principal is highly visible throughout the school.
- 141. Criterion-referenced testing occurs frequently in each subject area.
- 142. Instructional decisions are based on the school's written statement of purpose.
- 143. The number of low-income students retained in grade is proportionately equivalent to higher-income students retained in grade.
- 144. To the best of my knowledge, written standards in social science exist.
- 145. Classroom test results are used to give specific feedback to students.
- 146. The principal encourages teachers to accept their responsibilities for student achievement.
- 147. Following a formal observation, the principal discusses the observation with the teacher.
- 148. Teachers at this school invite parents to observe the instructional program.
- 149. Students that achieve identified standards do so regardless of home background.
- 150. Teachers in this school believe they are responsible for helping students achieve identified standards in each subject area.
- 151. It is safe to work in this school after students are dismissed.
- 152. A primary focus of staff development activities at our school is to provide increased knowledge and awareness about a particular topic.
- 153. The principal initiates the use of test results to modify or change the instructional program.
- 154. Most initial instruction is presented to the whole class when teaching writing.
- 155. Parents of students in this school are invited and attend school activities such as sports events, plays, concerts, and awards assemblies.
- 156. Students must achieve identified standards at each grade level and/or subject area.
- 157. To the best of my knowledge, written standards in science exist.
- 158. Administrators enforce the student rules consistently and equitably.

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions for Effective Schools Study

1. Several years ago this school undertook an effective schools process. In the last couple of years, have achievement scores at (name of school) improved, stayed the same or decreased? How about scores of students from low income families? Are they making improvement gains? How do you know?

In your opinion, what might help to explain or account for the achievement results of this school?

2. A new teacher has just arrived at this school, how would you describe the effective schools or school improvement process to him/her?
3. When a new teacher comes to this school, how does he or she learn what this school really cares about?

In your opinion, what is this school's mission?

Do parents and students share than mission? If yes, how do you know?

4. Have there been any changes in the way the school is organized since you began the effective schools process? If yes, which changes have had an impact on increasing student achievement--in the school and in your classroom?
5. Is the school addressing the needs of low-achieving students? How?

Which instructional methods have been effective in meeting the needs of these students?

How do you know they are effective?

6. What role do the teachers play in making instructional decisions? As a teacher do you feel you have an important role to play? If yes, share an example?
7. Do teachers in this school work together on instructional issues? How?
8. How is school improvement sustained in this school? What additional things could be done in the future to sustain improvement?
9. Are there significant barriers which are preventing you from reaching the achievement levels you'd like?
10. What role do test scores play in making instructional decisions? Do you think there is too much emphasis on test scores? If yes, what outcome measure would you rather have emphasized?
11. Are test score results used to modify the instructional program?
12. What role does the principal play in guiding instruction and making instructional decisions at this school?
13. Do instructional decisions reflect the mission of this school? How?
14. Are instructional decision monitored--at the school level and at the classroom level? How?
15. Describe how instructional changes are evaluated or assessed? What role do teachers play in the evaluation? What role does the principal play?
16. Is there a systematic process for resolving instructional problems in this school? Describe. Discipline problems?
17. Are teachers recognized and rewarded in this school? How?
18. Are students recognized and rewarded in this school? How? Are they rewarded for academic improvements? Do all students receive some recognition for academic growth?
19. Have teacher-parent contacts and relationships changed in any way? If yes, describe.

20. What roles do parents play in helping the school increase student achievement? If they are not involved, why not? Have your expectations for parents changed?
21. If this school was described as an effective school what would that mean to you?
22. Have you changed any of your attitudes or teaching practices as a result of the effective schools process? If yes, describe.
23. Knowing what you know now about school effectiveness and school improvement, what would you do differently, what changes would you make in the improvement process?